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THE
HISTORY OF THE PURITANS;

OR,

PROTESTANT NONCONFORMISTS;

FROM THE

REFORMATION IN 1517.

TO

THE REVOLUTION IN 1688:

COMPRISING AN

ACCOUNT OF THEIR PRINCIPLES;

THEIR ATTEMPTS FOR A FARTHER REFORMATION IN THE CHURCH;

THEIR SUFFERINGS;

AND THE

LIVES AND CHARACTERS OF THEIR MOST CONSIDERABLE DIVINES.

By DANIEL NEAL, M. A.

A NEW EDITION, IN FIVE VOLUMES:

REPRINTED FROM THE

TEXT OF DR. TOULMIN'S EDITION,

WITH HIS

LIFE OF THE AUTHOR AND ACCOUNT OF HIS WRITINGS.

REVISED, CORRECTED, AND ENLARGED.

VOL. I.

Neal

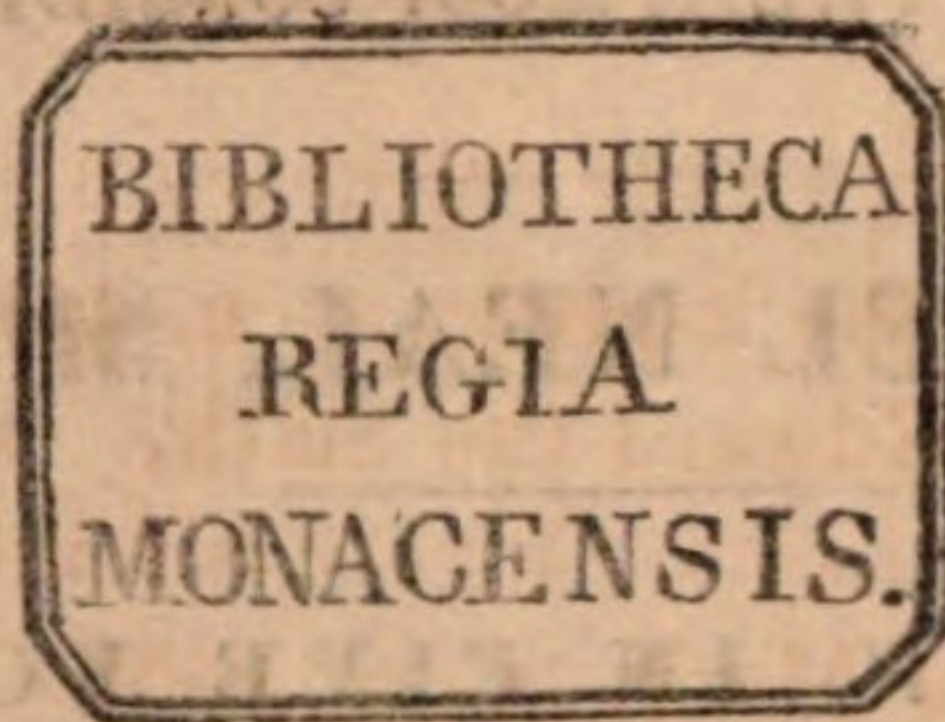
Puritans

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THE
P R E F A C E.

THIS volume brings the History of the Sufferings of the Puritans down to its period;* for though the Protestant dissenters have since complained of several difficulties and discouragements, yet most of the penal laws have been suspended; the prosecutions of the spiritual courts have been considerably restrained by the kind interposition of the civil powers, and liberty of conscience enjoyed without the hazard of fines, imprisonments, and other terrors of this world.

The times now in review were stormy and boisterous; upon the death of king Charles I. the constitution was dissolved: the men at the helm had no legal authority to change the government into a commonwealth, the protectorship of Cromwell was a usurpation, because grafted only on the military power, and so were all the misshapen forms into which the administration was cast till the restoration of the king. In order to pass a right judgment upon these extraordinary revolutions, the temper and circumstances of the nation are to be duly considered; for those actions which in some circumstances are highly criminal, may in a different situation of affairs become necessary. The parties engaged in the civil wars were yet living, and their resentments against each other so much inflamed, as to cut off all hopes of a reconciliation; each dreaded the other's success, well knowing they must fall a sacrifice to those who should prevail. All present views of the king's recovering his father's throne were defeated at the battle of Worcester, the loyalists being then entirely broken and dispersed; so that if some such extraordinary genius as Cromwell's had not undertaken to steer the nation through the storm, it had not been possible to hold

* The reader will observe that the period here referred to is the passing the act of toleration, with which Mr. Neal's fourth volume concludes. But the additions to the original work, by notes and supplements in this edition, have necessarily extended it to a fifth volume, which comprehends the author's two last chapters, the papers that form the Appendix to each of his volumes, and other papers. ED.

the government together till Providence should open a way for restoring the constitution, and settling it on its legal basis.

The various forms of government (if they deserve that name) which the officers of the army introduced after the death of Cromwell, made the nation sick of their frenzies, and turned their eyes towards their banished sovereign; whose restoration after all could not be accomplished without great imprudence on one part, and the most artful dissimulation on the other. The Presbyterians, like weak politicians, surrendered at discretion, and parted with their power on no other security than the royal word, for which they have been sufficiently reproached; though I am of opinion, that if the king had been brought in by a treaty, the succeeding parliament would have set it aside. On the other hand, nothing can be more notorious than the deep hypocrisy of general Monk, and the solemn assurances given by the bishops and other loyalists, and even by the king himself, of burying all past offences under the foundation of the Restoration; but when they were lifted into the saddle, the haste they made to shew how little they meant by their promises, exceeded the rules of decency as well as honour. Nothing would satisfy, till their adversaries were disarmed, and in a manner deprived of the protection of the government; the terms of conformity were made narrower and more exceptionable than before the civil wars, the penal laws were rigorously executed, and new ones framed almost every sessions of parliament for several successive years; the Nonconformist ministers were banished five miles from all the corporations in England, and their people sold for sums of money to carry on the king's unlawful pleasures, and to bribe the nation into Popery and slavery; till the house of commons, awakened at last with a sense of the threatening danger, grew intractable, and was therefore dissolved. His majesty, having in vain attempted several other representatives of the people, determined some time before his death to change the constitution, and govern by his sovereign will and pleasure; that the mischiefs which could not be brought upon the nation by consent of parliament, might be introduced under the wing of the prerogative; but the Roman Catholics, not satisfied with the slow proceedings of a disguised Protestant, or apprehending that the discontents of the people and his own love of ease might induce him some time or other to change measures, resolved to have a prince of their own religion, and more sanguine principles on the throne, which hastened the crisis of the nation, and brought forward that glorious revolution of king William and queen Mary, which put a final period to all their projects.

The nature of my design does not admit of a large and particular relation of all the civil transactions of these times, but only of such

a summary as may give light to the affairs of religion; and I could have wished that the memory of both had been entirely blotted out of the records of time, if the animosities of the several parties, and their unchristian principles, had been buried with them; but as the remembering them may be a warning to posterity, it ought to give no offence to any denomination of Christians in the present age, who are no ways answerable for the conduct of their ancestors, nor can otherwise share in a censure of it, than as they maintain the same principles, and imitate the same unchristian behaviour. At the end of each year I have added the characters of the principal nonconformist ministers as they died, partly from the historians of those times, but chiefly from the writings of the late reverend doctor Calamy, whose integrity, moderation, and industry, deserve a peculiar commendation. My design was to preserve the memory of the reverend assembly of divines at Westminster, as well as of the little army of confessors, who afterward suffered so deeply in the cause of nonconformity.

In passing a judgment on the several parties in church and state, I have carefully distinguished between those who went into all the arbitrary measures of the court, and such as stood firm by the Protestant religion and the liberties of their country; for it must be allowed, that in the reign of king Charles II. there were even among the clergy some of the worst as well as best of men, as will appear to a demonstration in the course of this history; but I desire no greater stress may be laid upon facts or characters than the quality of the vouchers in the margin will support. Where these have been differently related, I have relied on the best authorities, and sometimes reported from both sides, leaving the reader to choose for himself: for if facts are fairly represented, the historian is discharged. I am not so vain as to imagine this history free from errors; but if any mistakes of consequence are made to appear, they shall be acknowledged with thankfulness to those who shall point them out in a civil and friendly manner; and as I aim at nothing but truth, I see no reason to engage in a warm defence of any parties of Christians who pass before us in review, but leave their conduct to the censure of the world. Some few remarks of my own are here and there interspersed, which the reader will receive according as he apprehends them to follow from the premises; but I flatter myself, that when he has carefully perused the several volumes of this history, he will agree with me in the following conclusions:

1st. That uniformity of sentiments in religion is not to be attained among Christians; nor will a comprehension within an establishment be of service to the cause of truth and liberty without a

toleration of all other dutiful subjects. Wise and good men, after their most diligent searches after truth, have seen things in a different light, which is not to be avoided as long as they have liberty to judge for themselves. If Christ had appointed an infallible judge upon earth, or men were to be determined by an implicit faith in their superiors, there would be an end of such differences; but all the engines of human policy that have been set at work to obtain it have hitherto failed of success. Subscriptions, and a variety of oaths and other tests, have occasioned great mischiefs to the church: by these means men of weak morals and ambitious views have been raised to the highest preferments, while others of stricter virtue and superior talents have been neglected and laid aside; and power has been lodged in the hands of those who have used it in an unchristian manner, to force men to an agreement in sounds and outward appearances, contrary to the true conviction and sense of their minds; and thus a lasting reproach has been brought on the Christian name, and on the genuine principles of a Protestant church.

2dly. All parties of Christians, when in power, have been guilty of persecution for conscience' sake. The annals of the church are a most melancholy demonstration of this truth. Let the reader call to mind the bloody proceedings of the Popish bishops in queen Mary's reign; and the account that has been given of the star-chamber and high-commission court in later times; what numbers of useful ministers have been sequestered, imprisoned, and their families reduced to poverty and disgrace, for refusing to wear a white surplice, or to comply with a few indifferent ceremonies! What havoc did the Presbyterians make with their covenant uniformity; their *jure divino* discipline, and their rigid prohibition of reading the old service book. And though the Independents had a better notion of the rights of conscience, how defective was their instrument of government under Cromwell! how arbitrary the proceedings of their triers! how narrow their list of fundamentals! and how severe their restraints of the press! And though the rigorous proceedings of the Puritans of this age did by no means rival those of the prelates before and after the civil wars, yet they are so many species of persecution, and not to be justified even by the confusion of the times in which they were acted.

3dly. It is unsafe and dangerous to intrust any sort of clergy with the power of the sword: for our Saviour's kingdom is not of this world; "if it were (says he), then would my servants fight, but now is my kingdom not from hence." The church and state should stand on a distinct basis, and their jurisdiction be agreeable to the nature of their crimes; those of the church purely spiritual, and

those of the state purely civil ; as the king is supreme in the state, he is also head, or guardian, of the church in those spiritual rights that Christ has intrusted it with. When the church in former ages first assumed the secular power, it not only rivalled the state, but in a little time lifted up its head above emperors and kings, and all the potentates of the earth : the thunder of its anathemas was heard in all nations, and in her skirts was found the blood of the prophets and saints, and of all that were slain upon the earth. And whenever it recovers the wound that was given it at the Reformation, it will undoubtedly resume the same absolute coercive dominion. It is therefore the interest of all sovereign princes to keep their clergy within the limits that Christ has prescribed them in the New Testament, and not to trust them with the power of inflicting corporal pains or penalties on their subjects, which have no relation to the Christian methods of conversion.

4thly. Reformation of religion, or a redress of grievances in the church, has not in fact arisen from the clergy. I would not be thought to reflect upon that venerable order, which is of great usefulness, and deserved honour, when the ends of its institution are pursued ; but so strange has been the infatuation, so enchanting the lust of dominion, and the charms of riches and honour, that the propagation of piety and virtue has been very much neglected, and little else thought of but how they might rise higher in the authority and grandeur of this world, and fortify their strong holds against all that should attack them. In the dawn of the Reformation the clergy maintained the pope's supremacy against the king, till they were cast in a premunire. In the reign of queen Elizabeth there was but one of the whole bench who would join in the consecration of a Protestant bishop ; and when the Reformation was established, how cruelly did those Protestant bishops, who themselves had suffered for religion, vex the Puritans, because they could not come up to their standard ! How unfriendly did they behave at the Hampton-court conference ! At the restoration of king Charles II. and at the late revolution of king William and queen Mary ! when the most solemn promises were broken, and the most hopeful opportunity of accommodating differences among Protestants lost, by the perverseness of the clergy towards those very men who had saved them from ruin. So little ground is there to hope for a union among Christians, or the propagation of truth, peace, and charity, from councils, synods, general assemblies, or convocations of the clergy of any sort whatsoever.

5thly. Upon these principles, it is evident that freedom of religion, in subordination to the civil power, is for the benefit of society, and no ways inconsistent with a public establishment. The

king may create dignitaries, and give sufficient encouragement to those of the public religion, without invading the liberties of his dissenting subjects. If religious establishments were stripped of their judicial processes and civil jurisdiction, no harm could be feared from them. And as his majesty is defender of the faith in Scotland as well as England, and equally the guardian of both churches, he will no doubt hold the balance, and prevent either from rising to such a pitch of greatness as to act independently on the state, or become formidable and oppressive to their neighbours: the former would create *imperium in imperio*; and there is but one step between the church's being independent on the state, and the state becoming dependant on the church. Besides, as freedom of religion is for the true honour and dignity of the crown, it is no less for the service of the community; for the example of the neighbouring nations may convince us, that uniformity in the church will always be attended with absolute and despotic power in the state. The meetings of dissenting Protestants were formerly called seditious, because the peace of the public was falsely supposed to consist in uniformity of worship; but long experience has taught us the contrary: for though the nonconformists in those times gave no disturbance to the administration, the nation was far from being at peace; but when things came to a crisis, their joining with the church, against a corrupt court and ministry, saved the religion and liberties of the nation. It must therefore be the interest of a free people to support and encourage liberty of conscience, and not to suffer any one great and powerful religious body to oppress, devour, and swallow up the rest.

Finally, When Protestant dissenters recollect the sufferings of their fathers in the last age for the freedom of their consciences, let them be thankful that their lot is cast in more settled times. The liberties of England are the price of a great deal of blood and treasure; wide breaches were made in the constitution in the four reigns of the male line of the Stuarts; persecution and arbitrary power went hand in hand; the constitution was often in convulsive agonies, when the patrons of liberty appeared boldly in the noble cause, and sacrificed their estates and lives in its defence. The Puritans stood firm by the Protestant religion, and by the liberties of their country in the reigns of king Charles II. and king James II., and received the fire of the enemy from all their batteries, without moving sedition, or taking advantage of their persecutors, when it was afterward in their power. Some amendments, in my humble opinion, are still wanting to settle the cause of liberty on a more equal basis, and to deliver wise and good men from the fetters of oaths, subscriptions, and religious tests of all sorts. But whether such

desirable blessings are in reserve for this nation, must be left to the determination of an all-wise Providence. In the mean time, may Protestant dissenters express their gratitude for the protection and ease they enjoy at present, by an undissembled piety towards God! by a firm and unshaken loyalty to his majesty's person and wise administration! by avoiding every thing that tends to persecution or censoriousness for mere differences in religion! and by the integrity of their own lives and manners! And while they think it their duty to separate from the national establishment, may they distinguish themselves by the exercise of all social virtues, and stand fast in the liberty wherewith the providence of God has made them free! By such a conduct they will preserve their characters with all sober persons, and will transmit the blessings of the present age to their latest posterity.

DANIEL NEAL.

London, March 1, 1737—8.

P R E F A C E.

THE design of the following work is to preserve the memory of those great and good men among the reformers, who lost their preferments in the church, for attempting a farther reformation of its discipline and ceremonies; and to account for the rise and progress of that separation from the national establishment which subsists to this day.

To set this in a proper light it was necessary to look back upon the sad state of religion before the Reformation, and to consider the motives that induced king Henry VIII. to break with the pope, and to declare the church of England an independent body, of which himself, under Christ, was the supreme head upon earth. This was a bold attempt, at a time when all the powers of the earth were against him; and could not have succeeded without an overruling direction of Divine Providence. But as for any real amendment of the doctrines or superstitions of Popery, any farther than was necessary to secure his own supremacy, and those vast revenues of the church which he had grasped into his hands, whatever his majesty might design, he had not the honour to accomplish.

The Reformation made a quick progress in the short reign of king Edward VI. who had been educated under Protestant tutors, and was himself a prodigious genius for his age; he settled the doctrines of the church, and intended a reformation of its government and laws; but his noble designs were obstructed by some temporizing bishops, who, having complied with the impositions of king Henry VIII. were willing to bring others under the same yoke; and to keep up an alliance with the church of Rome, lest they should lose the uninterrupted succession of their characters from the apostles. The controversy that gave rise to the Separation began in this reign, on occasion of bishop Hooper's refusing to be consecrated in the Popish habits. This may seem an unreasonable scruple in the opinion of some people, but was certainly an affair of great consequence to the Reformation, when the habits were the known badges of Popery; and when the administrations

of the priests were thought to receive their validity from the consecrated vestments, as I am afraid many, both of the clergy and common people, are too inclinable to apprehend at this day. Had the reformers fixed upon other decent garments, as badges of the episcopal or priestly office, which had no relation to the superstitions of Popery, this controversy had been prevented.—But the same regard to the old religion was had in revising the liturgy, and translating it into the English language; the reformers, instead of framing a new one in the language of Holy Scripture, had recourse to the offices of the church of Rome, leaving out such prayers and passages as were offensive, and adding certain responses to engage the attention of the common people, who till this time had no concern in the public devotions of the church, as being uttered in an unknown tongue. This was thought a very considerable advance, and as much as the times would bear, but was not designed for the last standard of the English reformation; however, the immature death of young king Edward put an end to all farther progress.

Upon the accession of queen Mary, Popery revived by the supremacy's being lodged in a single hand; and within the compass of little more than a year, became a second time the established religion of the church of England: the statutes of king Edward were repealed, and the penal laws against heretics were put in execution against the reformers; many of whom, after a long imprisonment, and cruel trials of mockings and scourgings, made a noble confession of their faith before many witnesses, and sealed it with their blood. Great numbers fled into banishment, and were entertained by the reformed states of Germany, Switzerland, and Geneva, with great humanity; the magistrates enfranchising them, and appointing churches for their public worship. But here began the fatal division;* some of the exiles were for keeping to the liturgy of king Edward, as the religion of their country, while others, considering that those laws were repealed, apprehended themselves at full liberty; and having no prospect of returning home, they resolved to shake off the remains of antichrist, and to copy after the purer forms of those churches among whom they lived. Accordingly the congregation at Frankfort, by the desire of the magistrates, began upon the Geneva model, with an additional prayer for the afflicted state of the church of England at that time; but

* Fatal division; *i. e.* on account of the animosities it created and the miseries in which it involved very many persons and families; but in another view, it was a happy division, for it hath been essentially serviceable to civil as well as religious liberty, and like other evils, been productive of many important good effects; as the author himself points out, p. viii. ix.—Ed.

when Dr. Cox, afterward bishop of Ely, came with a new detachment from England, he interrupted the public service by answering aloud after the minister, which occasioned such a disturbance and division as could never be healed. Mr. Knox and Mr. Whittingham, with one half of the congregation, being obliged to remove to Geneva, Dr. Cox and his friends kept possession of the church at Frankfort, till there arose such quarrels and contentions among themselves, as made them a reproach to the strangers among whom they lived. Thus the separation began.

When the exiles, upon the accession of queen Elizabeth, returned to England, each party were for advancing the Reformation according to their own standard. The queen, with those that had weathered the storm at home, were only for restoring king Edward's liturgy, but the majority of the exiles were for the worship and discipline of the foreign churches, and refused to comply with the old establishment, declaiming loudly against the Popish habits and ceremonies. The new bishops, most of whom had been their companions abroad, endeavoured to soften them for the present, declaring they would use all their interests at court to make them easy in a little time. The queen also connived at their non-conformity, till her government was settled, but then declared roundly, that she had fixed her standard, and would have all her subjects conform to it; upon which the bishops stiffened in their behaviour, explained away their promises, and became too severe against their dissenting brethren.

In the year 1564, their lordships began to shew their authority, by urging the clergy of their several diocesses to subscribe the liturgy, ceremonies, and discipline, of the church; when those that refused were first called Puritans, a name of reproach derived from the Cathari, or Puritani, of the third century after Christ, but proper enough to express their desires of a more pure form of worship and discipline in the church. When the doctrines of Arminius took place in the latter end of the reign of James I. those that adhered to Calvin's explication of the five disputed points were called Doctrinal Puritans; and at length, says Mr. Fuller,* the name was improved to stigmatize all those who endeavoured in their devotions to accompany the minister with a pure heart, and who were remarkably holy in their conversations. A Puritan therefore was a man of severe morals, a Calvinist in doctrine, and a Non-conformist to the ceremonies and discipline of the church, though they did not totally separate from it.

The queen, having conceived a strong aversion to these people, pointed all her artillery against them; for besides the ordinary

* Church History, b. 9. p. 76. and b. 10. p. 100.

courts of the bishops, her majesty erected a new tribunal, called the court of High Commission, which suspended and deprived men of their livings, not by the verdict of twelve men upon oath, but by the sovereign determination of three commissioners of her majesty's own nomination, founded not upon the statute laws of the realm, but upon the bottomless deep of the canon law; and instead of producing witnesses in open court to prove the charge, they assumed a power of administering an oath *ex officio*, whereby the prisoner was obliged to answer all questions the court should put him, though never so prejudicial to his own defence: if he refused to swear, he was imprisoned for contempt; and if he took the oath, he was convicted upon his own confession.

The reader will meet with many examples of the high proceedings of this court, in the course of this history; of their sending their pursuivants to bring ministers out of the country, and keeping them in town at excessive charges; of their interrogatories upon oath, which were almost equal to the Spanish inquisition; of their examinations and long imprisonments of ministers without bail, or bringing them to a trial; and all this not for insufficiency, or immorality, or neglect of their cures, but for not wearing a white surplice, for not baptizing with the sign of the cross, or not subscribing to certain articles that had no foundation in law. A fourth part of all the preachers in England were under suspension from one or other of these courts, at a time when not one beneficed clergyman in six was capable of composing a sermon. The edge of all those laws that were made against Popish recusants, who were continually plotting against the queen, was turned against Protestant Nonconformists; nay, in many cases they had not the benefit of the law; for as lord Clarendon* rightly observes, queen Elizabeth carried her prerogative as high as in the worst times of king Charles I. "They who look back upon the council-books of those times (says his lordship), and upon the acts of the Star-chamber then, shall find as high instances of power and sovereignty upon the liberty and property of the subject, as can be since given. But the art, order, and gravity, of those proceedings (where short, severe, constant rules, were set, and smartly pursued, and the party felt only the weight of the judgment, not the passion of his judges) made them less taken notice of, and so less grievous to the public, though as intolerable to the person."

These severities, instead of reconciling the Puritans to the church, drove them farther from it; for men do not care to be beat from their principles by the artillery of canons, injunctions, and penal

* Vol. 1. 8vo. p. 72.

laws ; nor can they be in love with a church that uses such methods of conversion. A great deal of ill blood was bred in the nation by these proceedings ; the bishops lost their esteem with the people, and the number of Puritans was not really lessened, though they lay concealed, till in the next age they got the power into their hands, and shook off the yoke.

The reputation of the church of England has been very much advanced of late years, by the suspension of the penal laws, and the legal indulgence granted to Protestant dissenters. Long experience has taught us, that uniformity in doctrine and worship, enforced by penal laws, is not the way to the church's peace ; that there may be a separation from a true church without schism ; and schism within a church, without separation ; that the indulgence granted by law to Protestant Nonconformists, which has now subsisted above forty years, has not been prejudicial to church or state, but rather advantageous to both ; for the revenues of the established church have not been lessened ; a number of poor have been maintained by the dissenters, which must otherwise have come to the parish ; the separation has kept up an emulation among the clergy ; quickened them to their pastoral duty, and been a check upon their moral behaviour ; and I will venture to say, whenever the separate assemblies of Protestant Nonconformists shall cease, and all men be obliged to worship at their parish churches, that ignorance and laziness will prevail among the clergy ; and that the laity in many parts of the country will degenerate into superstition, profaneness, and downright atheism. With regard to the state ; it ought to be remembered, that the Protestant dissenters have always stood by the laws and constitution of their country ; that they joined heartily in the glorious revolution of king William and queen Mary, and suffered for their steady adherence to the Protestant succession in the illustrious house of his present majesty, when great numbers that called themselves churchmen were looking another way ; for this, the Schism-bill and other hardships were put upon them, and not for their religious differences with the church ; for if they would have joined the administration at that time, it is well known they might have made much better terms for themselves : but as long as there is a Protestant dissenter in England, there will be a friend of liberty, and of our present happy constitution. Instead therefore of crushing them, or comprehending them within the church, it must be the interest of all true lovers of their country, even upon political views, to ease their complaints, and to support and countenance their Christian liberty.

For though the church of England is as free from persecuting principles as any establishment in Europe, yet still there are some

grievances remaining, which wise and good men of all parties wish might be reviewed ; not to mention the subscriptions which affect the clergy ; there is the act of the twenty-fifth of king Charles II. for preventing dangers arising from Popish recusants, commonly called the Test-act, “ which obliges, under very severe penalties, all persons [of the laity] bearing any office, or place of trust or profit (besides taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and subscribing a declaration against transubstantiation), to receive the sacrament of the Lord’s supper according to the usage of the church of England, in some parish church, on a Lord’s day, immediately after divine service and sermon, and to deliver a certificate of having so received it, under the hands of the respective ministers and churchwardens, proved by two credible witnesses upon oath, to be recorded in court.” It appears by the title of this act, and by the disposition of the parliament at that time, that it was not designed against Protestant Nonconformists ; but the dissenters in the house generously came into it to save the nation from Popery ; for when the court, in order to throw out the bill, put them upon moving for a clause to except their friends, Mr. Love, who had already declared against the dispensing power, stood up, and desired that the nation might first be secured against Popery, by passing the bill without any amendment, and that then, if the house pleased, some regard might be had to Protestant dissenters ; in which, says Mr. Echard, he was seconded by most of his party.* The bill was voted accordingly, and another brought in for the ease of his majesty’s Protestant dissenting subjects, which passed the commons, but before it could get through the lords, the king came to the house and prorogued the parliament. Thus the Protestant Nonconformists, out of their abundant zeal for the Protestant religion, shackled themselves, and were left upon a level with Popish recusants.

It was necessary to secure the nation against Popery at that time, when the presumptive heir of the crown was of that religion ; but whether it ought not to have been done by a civil rather than by a religious test, I leave with the reader. The obliging all persons in places of civil trust to receive the holy sacrament of the Lord’s supper, seems to be a hardship upon those gentlemen, whose manner of life loudly declares their unfitness for so sacred a solemnity, and who would not run the hazard of eating and drinking unworthily, but that they satisfy themselves with throwing off the guilt upon the imposers. Great Britain must not expect an army of saints ; nor is the time yet come, when all her officers shall be peace,

* Echard’s Church History, ad ann. 1672-3.

and her exactors righteousness. It is no less a hardship upon a great body of his majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, who are qualified to serve their king and country, in all offices of civil trust, and would perform their duty with all cheerfulness, did they not scruple to receive the sacrament after the usage of the church of England, or to prostitute a sacred and religious institution, as a qualification for a civil employment. I can see no inconvenience either to church or state, if his majesty, as the common father of his people, should have the service of all his subjects, who are willing to swear allegiance to his royal person and government; to renounce all foreign jurisdiction, and to give all reasonable security not to disturb the church of England, or any of their fellow-subjects, in the peaceable employment of their religious or civil rights and properties. Besides, the removing this grievance would do honour to the church of England itself, by obviating the charge of imposition, and by relieving the clergy from a part of their work, which has given some of them very great uneasiness: but I am chiefly concerned for the honour of religion and public virtue, which are wounded hereby in the house of their friends. If therefore, as some conceive, the sacramental test be a national blemish, I humbly conceive, with all due submission, the removal of it would be a public blessing.

The Protestant Nonconformists observe with pleasure the right reverend fathers of the church owning the cause of religious liberty, "that private judgment ought to be formed upon examination, and that religion is a free and unforced thing." And we sincerely join with the lord bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, in the preface to his excellent Vindication of the Miracles of our Blessed Saviour,* "in congratulating our country on the enjoyment of their civil and ecclesiastical liberties within their just and reasonable bounds, as the most valuable blessings;" though we are not fully satisfied with the reasonableness of those bounds his lordship has fixed. God forbid that any among us should be patrons of open profaneness, irreligion, scurrility, or ill manners, to the established religion of the nation; much less that we should countenance any who blasphemously revile the founder of it, or who deride whatsoever is sacred! No; we have a fervent zeal for the honour of our Lord and Master, and are desirous to "contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints" with all sorts of spiritual weapons; but we do not yet see a necessity of stopping the mouths of the adversaries of our holy religion with fines and imprisonments, even though, to their own infamy and shame, they treat it with indecency: let scandal and ill manners be punished as they deserve, but let not men be terri-

* Pref. p. viii.

fied from speaking out their doubts, or proposing their objections against the gospel revelation, which we are sure will bear a thorough examination; and though the late ungenerous attacks upon the miracles of our blessed Saviour, may have had an ill influence upon the giddy and unthinking youth of the age, they have given occasion to the publishing such a number of incomparable defences of Christianity, as have confirmed the faith of many, and must satisfy the minds of all reasonable inquirers after truth.

Nor do we think it right to fix the boundaries of religious liberty upon the degree of people's differing from the national establishment, because enthusiasts or Jews have an equal right with Christians to worship God in their own way; to defend their own peculiar doctrines, and to enjoy the public protection, as long as they keep the peace, and maintain no principles manifestly inconsistent with the safety of the government they live under.

But his lordship apprehends he has a chain of demonstrable propositions to maintain his boundaries: he observes, * "1. That the true ends of government cannot subsist without religion, no reasonable man will dispute it. 2. That open impiety, or a public opposition made to, and an avowed contempt of, the established religion, which is a considerable part of the constitution, do greatly promote the disturbance of the public peace, and naturally tend to the subversion of the whole constitution." It is here supposed that one particular religion must be incorporated into the constitution, which is not necessary to the ends of government; for religion and civil government are distinct things, and stand upon a separate basis. Religion in general is the support of civil government, and it is the office of the civil magistrate to protect all his dutiful and loyal subjects in the free exercise of their religion; but to incorporate one particular religion into the constitution, so as to make it part of the common law, and to conclude from thence, that the constitution, having a right to preserve itself, may make laws for the punishment of those that publicly oppose any one branch of it, is to put an effectual stop to the progress of the Reformation throughout the whole Christian world: for by this reasoning our first reformers must be condemned; and if a subject of France, or the ecclesiastical state, should at this time write against the usurped power of the pope; or expose the absurdities of transubstantiation, adoration of the host, worshipping of images, &c. it would be laudable for the legislative powers of those countries to send the writer to the galleys, or shut him up in a dungeon, as a disturber of the public peace, because Popery is supported by law, and is a very considerable part of their constitution.

* Pref. p. ix. x.

But to support the government's right to enact penal laws against those that opposed the established religion, his lordship is pleased to refer us to the edicts of the first Christian emperors out of the Codex Theodosianus, composed in the fifth century, which acquaints us with the sentiments of that and the preceding age; but says nothing of the doctrine of Scripture, or of the practice of the church for three hundred years before the empire became Christian. His lordship then subjoins sundry passages out of a sermon of archbishop Tillotson, whom he justly ranks among the greatest of the moderns. But it ought to be remembered, that this sermon was preached at court in the year 1680, when the nation was in imminent danger from the Popish plot. His lordship should also have acquainted his readers with the archbishop's cautious introduction, which is this: "I cannot think (till I be better informed, which I am always ready to be) that any pretence of conscience warrants any man, that cannot work miracles, to draw men off from the established religion of a nation, nor openly to make proselytes to his own religion, in contempt of the magistrate and the law, though he is never so sure he is in the right."* This proposition, though pointed at the Popish missionaries in England at that time, is not only inconsistent with the Protestant reformation (as I observed before), but must effectually prevent the propagating of Christianity among the idolatrous nations of the Eastern and Western Indies, without a new power of working miracles, which we have no ground to expect; and I may venture to assure his lordship and the world, that the good archbishop lived to see his mistake; and could name the learned person to whom he frankly confessed it after some hours' conversation upon the subject. † But human authorities are of little weight in points of reason and speculation.

It was from this mistaken principle that the government pressed so hard upon those Puritans whose history is now before the reader;

* Abp. Tillotson's Works, vol. 1. fol. p. 320, 321.

† The learned person, to whom Mr. Neal refers, I conceive, was Mr. Howe: the purport of the conversation he had with the bishop, on the proposition contained in his sermon, was given to the public by Dr. Calamy in his Memoirs of Mr. Howe, p. 75, 76. The fact was, that the bishop was sent for, out of his turn, to preach before the king, on account of the sickness of another gentleman: and had prepared his discourse in great haste, and impressed with the general fears of Popery: the sentiment above quoted from it, was the occasion of its being published from the press. For the king having slept most part of the time while the sermon was delivered, a certain nobleman, when it was over, said to him; "'Tis pity your majesty slept, for we have had the rarest piece of Hobbism that ever you heard in your life." "Odsfish, he shall print it then," replied the king. When it came from the press the author sent a copy, as a present, to Mr. Howe, who freely expostulated with Dr. Tillotson on this passage, first in a long letter, and then in a conversation which the doctor desired on the subject, at the end of which he fell to weeping freely, and said "that this was the most unhappy thing that had of a long time befallen him."

in which he will observe how the transferring the supremacy from the pope to the king, united the church and state into one body under one head, insomuch that writing against the church was construed by the judges in Westminster-hall, a seditious libelling the queen's government, and was punished with exorbitant fines, imprisonment, and death. He will observe farther, the rise and progress of the penal laws; the extent of the regal supremacy in those times; the deplorable ignorance of the clergy; with the opposite principles of our church-reformers, and of the Puritans, which I have set in a true light, and have pursued the controversy as an historian in its several branches, to the end of the long reign of queen Elizabeth; to all which I have added some short remarks of my own, which the reader will receive according to their evidence. And because the principles of the Scotch reformers were much the same with those of the English Puritans, and the imposing a liturgy and bishops upon them gave rise to a confusion of the next age, I have inserted a short account of their religious establishment; and have enlivened the whole with the lives and characters of the principal Puritans of those times.

A history of this kind was long expected from the late reverend and learned Dr. John Evans, who had for some years been collecting materials for this purpose, and had he lived to perfect his design, would have it done to much greater advantage; but I have seen none of his papers, and am informed, that there is but a very small matter capable of being put in order for the press. Upon his decease I found it necessary to undertake this province, to bring the history forward to those times when the Puritans had the power in their own hands; in examining into which I have spent my leisure hours for some years; but the publishing those collections will depend, under God, upon the continuance of my health, and the acceptance this meets with in the world.

I am not so vain as to expect to escape the censures of critics, nor the reproaches of angry men, who, while they do nothing themselves, take pleasure in exposing the labours of others in pamphlets and newspapers; but as I shall be always thankful to any that will convince me of my mistakes in a friendly manner, the others may be secure of enjoying the satisfaction of their satirical remarks without any disturbance from me.

I have endeavoured to acquaint myself thoroughly with the times of which I write; and as I have no expectations from any party of Christians, I am under no temptation to disguise their conduct. I have cited my authorities in the margin, and flatter myself that I have had the opportunity of bringing many things to light relating to the sufferings of the Puritans, and the state of the Reformation

in those times, which have hitherto been unknown to the world, chiefly by the assistance of a large manuscript collection of papers, faithfully transcribed from their originals in the university of Cambridge, by a person of character employed for that purpose, and generously communicated to me by my ingenious and learned friend Dr. Benjamin Grosvenor; for which I take this opportunity of returning him my own, and the thanks of the public. Among the ecclesiastical historians of these times, Mr. Fuller, bishop Burnet, and Mr. Strype, are the chief; the last of whom has searched into the records of the English reformation more than any man of the age; Dr. Heylin and Collyer are of more suspected authority, not so much for their party principles, as because the former never gives us his vouchers, and yet the latter follows him blindly in all things.

Upon the whole, I have endeavoured to keep in view the honesty and gravity of an historian, and have said nothing with a design to exasperate or widen the differences among Christians; for as I am a sincere admirer of the doctrines of the New Testament, I would have an equal regard to its most excellent precepts, of which these are some of the capital, that "we love one another; that we forgive offences: that we bear one another's infirmities, and even bless them that curse us, and pray for them that despitefully use us and persecute us." If this spirit and temper were more prevalent, the lives of Christians would throw a bright lustre upon the truth and excellency of their divine faith, and convince the atheists and infidels of the age, more than all their arguments can do without it.

I would earnestly recommend this temper to the Protestant Non-conformists of the present age, together with a holy emulation of each other in undissembled piety and sanctity of life, that while they are reading the heavy and grievous sufferings of their ancestors from ecclesiastical commissions, spiritual courts, and penal laws, for conscience' sake, they may be excited to an humble adoration of Divine Providence, which has delivered them so far from the yoke of oppression; to a detestation of all persecuting principles; and to a loyal and dutiful behaviour to the best of kings, under whose mild and just government they are secure of their civil and religious liberties. And may Protestants of all persuasions improve in the knowledge and love of the truth, and in sentiments of Christian charity and forbearance towards each other, that being at peace among themselves, they may with greater success bend their united forces against the common enemy of Christianity!

London,

DANIEL NEAL.

Feb. 1st, 1731-2.

MEMOIRS
OF THE
LIFE OF MR. DANIEL NEAL, M.A.*

MR. DANIEL NEAL was born in the city of London, on the 14th of December, 1678. When he was very young, his parents were removed by death, and left him, their only surviving child, in the hands of a maternal uncle: whose care of his health and education was faithful and affectionate, and was often mentioned by his nephew with gratitude.

He received his classical education at Merchant Taylors' school; to which he was sent when he was seven or eight years of age, and where he stayed till he was head scholar. In this youthful period he gave a proof of the serious and conscientious principles by which he was governed; for an exhibition to St. John's college in Oxford being offered to him, out of a foundation belonging to that school, he declined it; and chose an education for the ministry amongst the Protestant dissenters.

About the year 1696, or 1697, he removed from this seminary to a dissenting academy, under the direction of the reverend Thomas Rowe; under whose tuition several eminent characters were, in part, formed.† To this gentleman Dr. Watts addressed his animated ode, called "Free Philosophy," which may, in this view, be considered as an honourable testimonial to the candid and liberal spirit with which Mr. Rowe conducted the studies of his pupils.

Mr. Neal's thirst after knowledge was not to be satisfied by the limited advantages of one seminary; but prompted him to seek farther improvement in foreign universities. Having spent three years with Mr. Rowe, he removed to Holland; where he prosecuted his studies, for two years, under the celebrated professors D'Uries, Grævius, and Burman, at Utrecht; and then, one year at Leyden.

About the middle or latter end of 1703 he returned to England,

* This narrative is drawn up chiefly from the memoirs of Mr. Neal's life in the funeral sermon by Dr. Jennings, and a MS. account of him and his works by his son Nathaniel Neal, esq.; communicated by his grandson Daniel Lister, esq. of Hackney.

† Amongst others, Dr. Watts, Dr. Hort, afterward archbishop of Tuam, Mr. Hughes the poet, Dr. John Evans, Mr. Grove, and Dr. Jeremiah Hunt.

in company with Mr. Martin Tomkins* and Mr. (afterward the eminent Dr.) Lardner, and soon after appeared in the pulpit.

* This gentleman was settled with a dissenting congregation at Stoke Newington. In the year 1718 Mr. Asty, the pastor of a congregation in Ropemaker's alley, Moorfields, on making an exchange with Mr. Tomkins for one Lord's day, thought fit to alarm his people with the danger of pernicious errors and damnable heresies creeping in amongst the dissenters; and particularly referred to errors concerning the doctrine of Christ's deity. Mr. Tomkins, to counteract the ill tendency of this discourse and of the censures it conveyed, preached, the succeeding Lord's day, from John xx. 21—23, on the power of Christ to settle the terms of salvation. The inference which he deduced from the discussion of his subject was, "that no man on earth, nor body of men; no, nor all the angels in heaven, have power to make any thing necessary to salvation, but what Christ hath made so." In the conclusion of his discourse, he applied this general principle as a test by which to decide on the importance of the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity, and of the deity of Christ.— Here he entered into a particular survey of the various passages in the historical and epistolary books of the New Testament connected with this point, and gave, at large, his reasons, why he did not apprehend the orthodox notion concerning the deity of Christ to be a fundamental doctrine of Christianity. This sermon, though the preacher neither denied nor intimated any doubt of the truth of the orthodox doctrine, gave much disgust, and made a great noise. The minds of his people were irritated, and every attempt which Mr. Tomkins used to calm them and restore harmony proving unsuccessful, he resigned his pastoral connexion, after ten years' services among them. Prejudice rose so high against him, that he was, afterward, denied the communion of the church, in which he had been many years before; when, on being disengaged from stated ministerial functions, he desired to return to it.

Mr. Tomkins did not again settle as the pastor of a congregation; but did not wholly lay aside the character, or drop the studies, of the Christian minister. For he occasionally preached, and published several valuable theological tracts. The first, about the year 1723, was "A sober Appeal to a Turk or an Indian concerning the plain sense of Scripture, relating to the Trinity: being an Answer to Dr. J. Watts's late book, entitled, 'The Christian Doctrine of the Trinity, or Father, Son, and Spirit, three Persons and one God, asserted and proved, by plain evidence of Scripture, without the aid and incumbrance of human schemes.'" This piece was drawn up in terms of decency and respect, and in the language of friendship towards that excellent and eminent person, to whose tract it was a reply: and the whole was written in an exemplary strain of moderation and candour. In the year 1748, it came to a second edition: to which were added, 1. Remarks on Dr. Watts's three citations relating to the doctrine of the Trinity, published in 1724. 2. A sober Appeal to all that have read the New Testament, whether the reputed orthodox are not more chargeable with preaching a new Gospel, than reputed Arians? 3. A Reply to Dr. Waterland's Animadversions upon some passages in the 'Sober Appeal.' To neither of the editions of this treatise was the author's name affixed. In 1752, Mr. Tomkins published, also without his name, a piece which gained him great reputation; entitled "Jesus Christ the Mediator between God and Man; an Advocate for us with the Father, and a Propitiation for the Sins of the World." A new edition of this work appeared in 1761. He published, in 1738, "A calm Inquiry, whether we have any warrant from Scripture for addressing ourselves in a way of prayer or praise, directly to the Holy Spirit: humbly offered to the consideration of all Christians, particularly of Protestant Dissenters." This piece has seriously impressed the minds of many, and has, undoubtedly, contributed very much to the disuse of the trinitarian doxology amongst the dissenters. Mr. Tomkins himself, so far back as the time when he was minister to the congregation at Stoke Newington, had forborne it, because he could find no instance of it in Scripture. All Mr. Tomkins's pieces are proofs of the candour of his spirit, and of the clearness and strength of his judgment. Long since his death there has appeared, in the Theological Repository, vol. 3. p. 257, "A Letter from him to Dr. Lardner, in reply to his letter on the Logos; in defence of the Arian hypothesis." In this enumeration of his publications it had almost escaped me to mention another, and that the first in order of time, viz. "The Case of Mr. Martin Tomkins, being an Account of the Proceedings of the dissenting congregation at Stoke Newington, upon occasion of a sermon preached by him July 13, 1718." This piece

It was not long before his furniture and abilities attracted notice. And, in the next year, he was chosen assistant to Dr. John Singleton,* in the service of an Independent congregation, in Aldersgate-street; and on the doctor's death, in 1706, he was elected their pastor. In this relation he continued, for thirty-six years, till about five months before his decease. When he accepted the pastoral office, the church, though some persons of considerable fortune and character belonged to it, was very small, as to numbers; but such acceptance did his ministry meet with, that the place of worship became, in a few years, too strait to accommodate the numbers that desired to attend on Mr. Neal's preaching; which obliged them to remove to a larger house in Jewin-street.

He fulfilled the duties of his character with attention and diligence: statedly preaching twice every Lord's day, till the three or four last years of his life; and usually devoting two or three afternoons in a week, to visiting his people. He pursued his studies with so close an application, as to reserve little or no time for exercise; though he was assiduous in his preparations for the pulpit, he gave himself some scope in his literary pursuits, and particularly indulged in the study of history, to which his natural genius strongly led him. "He still (observes Dr. Jennings) kept his character and profession in view, as a Christian divine and minister."†

The firstfruits of his literary labours appeared in 1720, under the title of "The History of New England; being an impartial account of the civil and ecclesiastical affairs of the country, with a new accurate Map thereof: to which is added, an Appendix, containing their present charter, their ecclesiastical discipline, and their municipal laws." In two volumes 8vo. This work contains an entertaining and instructive narrative of the first planting the gospel in a foreign heathen land: and besides, exhibiting the rise of a new

bears on it all the marks of being a fair and impartial, as it is an instructive, narrative.—The character of candour and piety, which he supported, and with which his writings are impressed; the simplicity and integrity with which he bore his testimony to scriptural worship, Christian moderation, and the divine unity; and the weight and influence of his publications in the trinitarian controversy, have justly entitled Mr. Tomkins to this particular mention.

* Dr. John Singleton was a student in the university of Oxford; from whence, after he had been there eight years, he was turned out by the commissioners in 1660. He then went to Holland, and studied physic; but never practised it any farther than to give his advice to particular friends. His settlements were various. Residing some time with lady Scott in Hertfordshire, he preached then to some dissenters at Hertford. He was afterward pastor to a congregation in London. When the meetings were generally suppressed, he went into Warwickshire, and lived with his wife's brother, Dr. Timothy Gibbons, a physician. Upon king James giving liberty he preached first at Stretton, a small hamlet, eight miles from Coventry; and then became pastor to the Independent congregation in that city. From whence he was again called to London, to succeed Mr. T. Cole. Palmer's Nonconformist's Memorial, vol. 1. p. 170. There is a sermon of Dr. Singleton's in the Morning Exercises.

† Funeral Sermon for Mr. Neal, p. 33.

commonwealth, struggling in its infant state with a thousand difficulties, and triumphing over them all, it includes biographical memoirs of the principal persons in church and state. It was well received in New England; and the next year their university honoured the author with the degree of master of arts, the highest academical title they had power to confer.

In the same year there came from Mr. Neal's pen, "A Letter to the Rev. Dr. Francis Hare, dean of Worcester, occasioned by his reflections on the dissenters, in his late visitation-sermon and post-script." 8vo.*

In 1721 he published "The Christian's Duty and Interest in a time of public danger, from Ezekiel ix. 4. A sermon preached at the Rev. Mr. Jennings's meeting-place in Wapping, on Friday, October 27, being a time of solemn prayer on account of the plague."† This discourse is preserved in the library of Queen's college, Cambridge.‡

Mr. Neal gave to the public, in 1722, "A Narrative of the method and success of inoculating the small-pox in New England, by Mr. Benjamin Colman; with a reply to the objections made against it from principles of conscience, in a letter from a minister at Boston. To which is now prefixed, an historical introduction." On the appearance of this piece, her royal highness Caroline, princess of Wales, sent for him to wait on her, that she might receive from him farther satisfaction concerning the practice of inoculation. He was introduced by a physician of the royal family, and received by the princess in her closet; whom he found reading "Fox's Martyrology."—Her highness did him the honour of entering into a free conversation with him for near an hour, on the subject of inoculation: and afterward on other subjects, particularly the state of the dissenting interest in England, and of religion in New England. After some time the prince of Wales, afterward George II. came into the room, and condescended to take a part in the conversation for above a quarter of an hour. Mr. Neal had the honour of kissing the hands of both the royal personages.§

In 1722 he published, at request, a sermon preached to the societies for Reformation of Manners, at Salter's-Hall, on Monday June 25. This discourse, grounded on Psalm xciv. 16, is to be met with in the library mentioned before.

In the beginning of the next year the request of the managers of

* The title of this sermon was "Church Authority Vindicated." This discourse also attracted the notice of bishop Hoadley, who published an answer to it.

† It then raged at Marseilles in France, being brought thither from the Levant; and eighteen thousand died of it.

‡ Cooke's Index to Sermons, vol. 2. p. 241. Article Neal.

§ The MS. account of Mr. Neal.

the charity-school in Gravel-lane, Southwark, procured from him the publication of a sermon, preached January 1, for the benefit of that institution, on Job xxix. 12, 13, entitled, "The Method of Education in the Charity-schools of Protestant Dissenters; with the Advantages that arise to the Public from them."

After this nothing of Mr. Neal's appeared from the press for several years, till in 1726 the death of the Rev. Matthew Clarke, a minister of considerable eminence amongst the dissenters of that period, gave occasion for his publishing a funeral sermon for him, from Matt. xxv. 21. This discourse was, next year, reprinted, and annexed to a volume of sermons upon several occasions, by Mr. Clarke; of which Mr. Neal was the editor, and to which he prefixed some memoirs of the author.*

At the beginning of this year he printed a sermon, entitled "Of sorrowing for them who sleep in Jesus," occasioned by the death of Mrs. Anne Phillibrowne, who departed this life February 1, 1726-7, in the forty-third year of her age. This discourse is also to be found in Queen's college library, Cambridge.

In 1730, the united request of the ministers and the church prevailed with him to publish a sermon, entitled, "The Duty of Praying for Ministers and the Success of their Ministry," from 2 Thess. iii. 1.; preached at the separation of the Rev. Mr. Richard Rawlin,†

* Mr. Matthew Clarke, a gentleman of eminence amongst the dissenting ministers of that period, and the father to Dr. Clarke, a physician of extensive practice, who died not long since at Tottenham in Middlesex, was descended from a genteel family in the county of Salop. He was the son of the Rev. Matthew Clarke, who was ejected from Narborough in Leicestershire; and was born February 2, 1663-4. His father, who had been an indefatigable student in Trinity-college, Cambridge, led him through the learned languages. His academical studies were pursued, under the learned Mr. Woodhouse, at Sherifhales in Shropshire, a tutor of eminence in those times. Mr. Clarke, when he had finished his academical course, spent two years in London, for the benefit of conversing with learned men, and forming himself on the model of the most celebrated preachers. He began his ministry in 1684, with great acceptance. So that great additions were made to the church, which his father had formed, at Market Harborough; and he laid the foundation of several societies of Protestant dissenters in those parts. Being engaged, when he was on a visit to London, in 1687, to supply the congregation at Sandwich in Kent for a few Lord's days, he was prevailed with to spend two years there; which he did with eminent success. In 1689, he was unanimously invited to become assistant to the aged Mr. Ford, the pastor of a congregation in Miles's lane; which was then reduced to a very low state: but the auditory, in a few years, became crowded; and seven or eight in a month were added to the communion. In 1697, Mr. Clarke was chosen one of the lecturers at Pinner's-hall. He married, in 1696, Mrs. Anne Frith, daughter of Mr. Robert Frith, of Windsor, who was repeatedly mayor of that corporation. His pulpit abilities were greatly admired, and his services much sought; so that he usually preached twice or three times on a Lord's day, and several times in the week. He died March 27, 1726, aged sixty-two years, much beloved and much lamented, and leaving behind him the character of having been amongst the best and most useful divines of his age. Mr. Neal's Memoirs of his Life.

† Mr. Rawlin was a minister of reputation amongst the Independents, one of the six preachers of the Merchants' lecture at Pinner's-hall, and the author of a volume of sermons on justification, which met with great acceptance, and passed through more than one edition.

to the pastoral office in the church at Fetter-lane, June 24. A passage in this discourse deserves to be quoted, to shew the catholic and generous sentiments of Mr. Neal. Having referred to the persecutions of the Christians under the Roman emperors, and then to the prevalence of darkness and superstition for a thousand years after Rome became papal, he proceeds, "The light of the gospel broke out again at the Reformation; but, alas! what obstructions has it met with ever since! how much blood has been spilt, and how many families ruined, and sent into banishment, for the profession of it! There is at this time a bloody inquisition in Spain; and the sword of the magistrate is drawn against the preaching of the gospel in Italy, France, Poland, in several parts of Germany, and in other Popish countries. I wish I could say, that all Protestant governments were willing the gospel should have its free course; but our fathers in this nation have drunk of the bitter cup of persecution; our teachers have been driven into corners, and the mouths of thousands stopped in one day: Blessed be God, that there is now a more open door! Let us pray, that all penal laws for religion may be taken away, and that no civil discouragements may lie upon Christians of any denomination, for the peaceable profession of their faith, but that the gospel may have free course."

In the year 1732 came out the first volume of Mr. Neal's great work, "The History of the Puritans." The following circumstances gave birth to this publication. Dr. Edmund Calamy, many years before, had, in his "Abridgment of the life of Mr. Richard Baxter, and the continuation of it," laid before the public a view of the state of nonconformity, and of the characters and sufferings of the principal adherents to it, during the period that immediately succeeded to the act of uniformity in 1662. Dr. John Evans,* on

* Dr. John Evans, the author of two volumes of judicious and admired sermons on the Christian temper, and of many single sermons, was the son of Mr. John Evans, of Baliol-college, Oxford, and ejected by the act of uniformity from Oswestry. He was born at Wrexham in the year 1679. His mother was the daughter of the eminent colonel Gerard, governor of Chester-castle. He received his education first under Mr. Thomas Rowe, of London; and afterward under Mr. Richard Frankland, at Rathmill, in Yorkshire. He enjoyed great advantages under both, and made a singular proficiency in all the parts of rational and polite literature. His first settlement was in the family of Mrs. Hunt, of Boreatton in Shropshire, relict of Roland Hunt, esq.; and sister of lord Paget, ambassador to the Ottoman court. In this retirement he read over entire Mr. Pole's Latin Synopsis, in five volumes folio, which laid the foundation of his great skill in Scripture criticism, and all the Christian writers of the three first centuries, under the direction of the learned Mr. James Owen. His first settlement, as a minister, was in the place of his nativity: from whence he removed to London, to be assistant to Dr. Daniel Williams, pastor of a congregation in Hand-alley, Bishopsgate-street; which afterward removed to New Bond-street, Petty-France. Dr. Evans, after several years, was by Dr. Williams's desire made co-pastor with him, and succeeded him at his death. On taking the whole charge of the congregation, he spent a week in solemn retirement and in extraordinary exercises of devotion. He was one of the six preachers of the Merchants' lecture at Salters'-hall, and for several years concerned in the Lord's day evening lecture in

this, formed a design of writing "A History of Nonconformity," from the beginning of the Reformation to 1640, when the civil wars began. Mr. Neal was requested, by several ministers and other persons of considerable figure amongst the dissenters, to take up the history from the year 1640, and to carry it on to the act of uniformity. Dr. Evans proceeded a great way in the execution of his design, by collecting, for several years, with great industry and expense, proper materials from all quarters, and by filling several quires of paper with references, under each year, to the books he had read on the subject. He had gone so far as to have written out fairly about a third part of the two folios he intended to fill.—But his constant employment as a minister, the multiplicity of public affairs which passed through his hands, ill health, and various disappointments and troubles in his own concerns, greatly interrupted his close application to the work; and his death, in the year 1730, put a final period to the design, which was left in an unfinished state. In the meantime Mr. Neal had prosecuted his work with so much application and spirit, that he had completed his collections, and put them in order for the press, some length of time before the doctor's decease. This event obstructed his immediate progress, and opened to him a new field of study and investigation: for he now found it necessary to take up himself the long period of history from the Reformation to the commencement of the civil wars; that his own collections might be published with more acceptance, and appear with greater advantage, than he apprehended they could have done, if the doctor's province had been entirely neglected.*

The approbation which followed the publication of the first volume of "The History of the Puritans" encouraged him to prosecute his design; and the next year, 1733, produced a second volume of that work.

that place. Besides the sermons mentioned above, he published a small volume addressed to young persons, which has been reprinted within these few years, and a tract or two on the "Importance of Scripture consequences," drawn up in a masterly way, with great clearness and judgment, sobriety and decency. Both the universities of Edinburgh and Aberdeen, without his knowledge and in a most honourable manner, conferred on him their highest academical honour. A complication of distempers broke down his constitution, and deprived the world of his abilities and labours, at so early a period as the fifty-first year of his age, May 23, 1730. He excelled in the several virtues of integrity, greatness and generosity of mind; in compassion and tenderness, in a catholic temper and a public spirit, and in a steady regular piety. His solidity of judgment united with vivacity, his industry and prudence, were distinguishing and superior to most others. Amongst the pertinent, devout, and excellent sentiments he dropped in the course of his illness, when he looked upon his body swollen with distemper, he would often say with pleasure, "This corruptible shall put on incorruption,—O glorious hope!" Dr. Harris's funeral sermon for Dr. Evans, in his *Funeral Discourses*, p. 285—296.

* Dr. Harris's funeral sermon for Dr. Evans, in his volume of *Funeral Discourses*, p. 289, 290. and the MS. account of Mr. Neal.

Between the appearance of this and the subsequent parts of his history, we find Mr. Neal engaged with some of his respectable brethren in carrying on two courses of lectures; one at Berry-street; the other at Salters'-hall.

The former was preached at the request and by the encouragement of William Coward, esq. of Walthamstow. It consisted of fifty-four sermons on the principal heads of the Christian religion, entitled "Faith and Practice." Mr. Neal's associates in this service were, Dr. Watts, Dr. J. Guise, Mr. Samuel Price, Mr. John Hubbard, and Dr. David Jennings.* The terms on which Mr. Neal complied with Mr. Coward's request, made through a common friend, to take part in this service, are proofs of the independence and integrity of mind which he possessed, and was determined to maintain. His requisitions were, that he would draw up the dedication, write the preface, and choose his own subjects, in which Mr. Coward, though they were not very pleasing to a gentleman of his known humour, and fondness for adulation and control, acquiesced; rather than the lecture should lose the advantage and reputation that it would derive from Mr. Neal's abilities and name.† The subjects handled by him were, "The divine authority and perfection of the Holy Scriptures," from 2 Tim. iii. 16. "Of God, as the governor and judge of the moral world, angels and men," on Daniel iv. 35. "The incarnation of Christ as the promised Messiah;" the text Gal. iv. 4, 5. "Effectual calling, with its fruits, viz. regeneration and sanctification by the Holy Spirit;" from 2 Tim. i. 9. "Confession of sin, repentance, and

* It is needless to say any thing here of the first name on this list, Dr. Watts, whose fame by his various writings has been so universally diffused.

Mr. Samuel Price, the uncle of the late Dr. Richard Price, served forty-five years in the ministry of the gospel, with Dr. Watts, as assistant or co-pastor. He was a man of exemplary probity and virtue, of sound and solid sense, a judicious and useful preacher, eminent for his gift in prayer, and for wisdom and prudence in the management of affairs. He was a native of Wales, received his academical learning under Mr. Timothy Jollie, at Attercliffe, and died in 1756.

Dr. John Guise was well known, as a popular preacher, and as the author of a paraphrase on the New Testament, in three vols. quarto.

Mr. Hubbard was minister of a congregation at Stepney, and about three years before his death was chosen tutor of a seminary for educating young men for the ministry. He filled both capacities with considerable reputation, and is said to have had so extensive and familiar an acquaintance with the Scriptures, as to supersede the use of a concordance, which had no place in his library.

Dr. David Jennings has left behind him, "An introduction to the use of the globes and orrery," "An introduction to the knowledge of medals," and "Jewish Antiquities," as monuments of his genius and learning. For many years he was at the head of the seminary endowed by Mr. Coward's munificence: and for forty-four years pastor of a congregation in Old Gravel-lane, Wapping. He was a pleasing and pathetic preacher, an early riser, very methodical and punctual in the arrangements of his studies and business, and, notwithstanding that he lived much in his study, his conversation was lively and instructive, and his address easy and affable. He published several sermons, and was the author of several other pieces besides the above. He died September 26, 1762, in his seventy-first year.

† From private information.

conversion to holiness;" on Acts iii. 19. "Of fearing God, and trusting in him:" Psalm xxxi. 19. "The sacrament of the Lord's supper;" on 1 Cor. xi. 23. 26. "The love of our neighbour;" the text John xiii. 34, 35. And "The pleasure and advantage of vital religion;" from Rom. vii. 22. These, with the discourses of the other preachers, were, after the course was finished, published in two vols. 8vo. in 1735; and have passed through several editions. Dr. Doddridge, when speaking of them, says, "I cannot recollect where I have seen a set of important thoughts on such various and weighty subjects more judiciously selected, more naturally digested, more closely compacted, more accurately expressed, or in a few words more powerfully enforced, than I have generally found in those sermons."* Without determining whether this encomium be exaggerated or not, it may certainly be pronounced, that the practical strain in which the discourses are drawn up, and the good temper with which the subjects of greatest controversy are here handled, without any censure or even illiberal insinuation against others mingling with the representation of their own views on the points discussed, do great honour to the heart and spirit of the authors.

The other course of lectures, in which Mr. Neal was engaged, arose from an alarm concerning the increase of Popery, which prevailed about the end of the year 1734. Some eminent dissenting ministers of the day, of the Presbyterian denomination, in conjunction with one of each of the other persuasions, agreed to preach a set of sermons on the main principles and errors, doctrines and practices, of the church of Rome, to guard Protestants against the efforts of its emissaries. The gentlemen who engaged in this design were, Mr. John Barker, Dr. Samuel Chandler, Mr. George Smith, Dr. Samuel Wright, Dr. William Harris, Dr. Obadiah Hughes, Dr. Jeremiah Hunt, Mr. Joshua Bayes, Mr. John Newman, Dr. Jabez Earle, Mr. Moses Lowman, Dr. Benjamin Grosvenor, Mr. Thomas Leavesly, Mr. Joseph Burrough, a minister of the Anti-pædo-Baptist persuasion,† and Mr. Neal, who was an Independent.

* Doddridge's Ten Sermons, 12mo. Preface, p. ix.

† Mr. John Barker was, for a number of years, a preacher of popular talents and great eminence, first at Hackney, and then at Salter's-hall. Many single sermons came from his pen, and he published a volume of discourses in his lifetime, which was succeeded by a second volume after his death in 1763.

Dr. Samuel Chandler is well known as rising superior to most, either within the pale of the establishment or out of it, in learning and abilities.

Mr. George Smith officiated to the society of the Gravel-pit meeting, Hackney, for thirty years, as a preacher excelled by none and equalled by few. He died May 1, 1746, aged fifty-seven, looked upon by his own brethren as holding the first rank in merit amongst them; and not less honoured and valued by those of the establishment who knew him.

Dr. Samuel Wright, the author of many single sermons and several valuable practical works, was distinguished by pulpit talents. He was thirty-eight years pastor of the congregation, which originally met for religious worship in Blackfriars, and

The subject which fell to his lot to discuss was, "the supremacy of St. Peter, and the bishops of Rome his successors." These dis-

then greatly increasing under his preaching, which was serious and judicious, solemn and striking, removed to Carter-lane. He died in his sixty-fourth year, 1746.

Dr. William Harris, who was upwards of forty years pastor of a congregation in Crutched-friars, was a very acceptable preacher, and the author, besides many single sermons, of a volume of discourses on "The principal representations of the Messiah throughout the Old Testament," and of another called "Funeral Discourses, in two parts: containing, 1. Consolation on the death of our friends, and 2. Preparation for our own death." His compositions were laboured and finished. It was amongst the excellences of his character, that he was scarce ever seen to be angry; was a very great patron and friend of young ministers, and had a concern in many great and useful designs of a public nature. He died high in reputation and usefulness, May 25, 1740, aged sixty-five.

Dr. Obadiah Hughes "was many years minister of a congregation in Southwark from which he removed to Westminster. He was an acceptable preacher, and printed some occasional sermons." Dr. Kippis's Life of Dr. Lardner.

Dr. Jeremiah Hunt, of Pinners'-hall, was a most respectable character, a man of extensive learning and profound knowledge of the Scriptures; he published many occasional sermons, and "An essay towards explaining the History of the Revelations of Scripture." He died 5th of September, 1744, aged sixty-seven.

Mr. Joshua Bayes was pastor of the congregation in Hatton-garden.

Mr. John Newman was, for many years, one of the most celebrated preachers in the city of London; who delivered, to crowded audiences, long and laboured sermons without any assistance of notes. He was first assistant to Mr. Nathaniel Taylor, and then co-pastor with Mr. William Tong, at Salters'-hall; appearing in the same place for five-and-forty years, with great credit and comfort, and died while he was esteemed and beloved, in full reputation and usefulness, much missed and lamented, in his sixty-fifth year, July 25, 1741.

Dr. Jabez Earle, a classical scholar, remarkable for a vivacity and cheerfulness of temper, which never forsook him to the last, was for near seventy years a noted minister in London. He preached to the last Sunday in his life, and died in his chair without a groan or sigh, aged ninety-two. He was pastor of a congregation at Long-acre, and one of the Tuesday lecturers at Salters'-hall. He printed, besides several sermons, a little tract, called Sacramental Exercises: and in the second edition of the "Biographia Britannica," under the article Amory, there is a small copy of verses which he sent to his friend Dr. Harris, on their both receiving diplomas from a Scotch university.

Mr. Moses Lowman, more than forty years minister of a congregation at Clapham, Surrey, to a great character for general literature added a thorough acquaintance with Jewish learning and antiquities. His treatise on the civil government of the Hebrews, another on the ritual of that people, and a commentary on the Revelations, have been held in high estimation. A small piece drawn up by him, in the mathematical form, to prove the unity and perfections of God *a priori*, was called by Dr. Chandler, a truly golden treatise, and asserted to be a strict demonstration. After his decease there appeared from the press three tracts on the Shechinah and Logos, published from his MSS. by Dr. Chandler, Dr. Lardner, and Mr. Sandercock. He reached the age of seventy-two, and died May 3, 1752.

Dr. Benjamin Grosvenor was a minister in London, of distinguished reputation, upwards of fifty years. A singular acumen, lively imagination, and warm devotion of heart, characterised his discourses, which were delivered with a graceful utterance. He was born in London, 1st January, 1675; was chosen minister to the congregation in Crosby-square in 1704, which he soon raised into a flourishing church and crowded auditory: and 1716 he was elected one of the six preachers at the Merchants' lecture, at Salters'-hall. In 1794 he retired from all public services; and died August 27th, 1758, in the eighty-third year of his age. He published many single sermons; the most distinguishing of which was one on "The temper of Jesus towards his enemies," which was reprinted at Cambridge so lately as the year 1758; it was a transcript of his own heart and life. "An Essay on Health;" and an excellent treatise entitled, "The Mourner;" both of which have passed through several editions, and will continue to be memorials of his genius, learning, and spirit. Of the

courses were separately printed immediately after each was preached, and when the lecture was closed, were collected together, and formed two volumes, 8vo.*

latter the following passage in his diary is an amiable specimen: "I thank God (says he) for that temper of mind and genius, which has made it natural for me to have an aversion to bigotry. This has improved constantly with my knowledge. And the enlarging my mind towards those who differ from me, has kept pace with my illumination and intellectual improvements. 'Agree to differ' is a good motto. The reason and loveliness of such a friendly disposition would recommend it, and I am persuaded people would almost take it of themselves, if it were not for the several arts used to prevent it."

Mr. Thomas Leavesly was, for some years, minister of the Old Jewry in London.

Mr. Joseph Burroughs was a learned and judicious divine; of which, not only the sermon in the above collection, but a volume of sermons published in 1741, and "**A view of Popery**," taken from the creed of pope Pius IV. afford ample proof. He was also the author of several single sermons, and of "Two discourses relating to positive institutions:" which brought on a controversy between him and the worthy Dr. Caleb Fleming, on the mode and subject of baptism. He was fifty-two years connected with the General Baptist congregation in Barbican, London, first as an assistant to the Rev. Richard Allen, and from the year 1717, as pastor, to November 23, 1761, when he died in the seventy-seventh year of his age; having supported, through so long a life, the character of the steady friend to liberty and free inquiry, of a zealous advocate for the importance of the Christian revelation, and of the strenuous promoter of every scheme that tended to advance the common interests of religion, as well as those which were particularly calculated for the benefit of Baptist societies: while through the greatest part of this period he had as a minister served the church, with which he was united, with the greatest fidelity, affection, and zeal.

The length of this note might appear to require an apology, were not the names, to whose memory it is devoted, too eminent in their day to be passed over without some respectful notice. Several of the preceding gentlemen, viz. the Drs. Grosvenor, Wright, and Evans, and Mr. Lowman, were engaged in the years 1716, 1717, 1718, with Dr. Avery, and Mr. Simon Brown, in a valuable publication, entitled, "**The Occasional Paper**:" a work sacred to the cause of religious liberty, free inquiry, and charity.

* It is proper to add, that this defence of Protestantism did not terminate with the delivery of the sermons from the pulpit at Salters'-hall. Dr. Chandler pursued his subject in "**A second treatise on the notes of the church**;" as a supplement to his sermon, at that place, on the same subject. And Dr. Harris followed up his sermon on transubstantiation with "**A second discourse, in which the sixth chapter of St John's Gospel is particularly considered**:" preached at the Merchants' lecture at Salters'-hall, April 22, 1735," which was reckoned to possess peculiar merit. Mr. Burroughs farther shewed himself an able writer, in the cause for which the sermons were preached, by his "**Review of Popery**." The course of lectures had not gone on a month, when a gentleman or two being in company with a Romish priest at the Pope's-head tavern in Cornhill they became the subject of conversation; and the latter objected, in particular, against some passages in Mr. Barker's sermon, as what could not be supported by proper vouchers. This brought on, by appointment, "**Two conferences on the 7th and 13th of February, 1734-5, at the Bell-tavern in Nicholas-lane, on the blasphemy of many Popish writers in giving, and of popes in receiving, the title of Our Lord God the Pope; on the doctrines of substantiation; praying to saints and angels, and of denying the use of the Scriptures to the laity.**" At the first of these conferences twenty were present, and the dispute was supported by the Romish priest, Dr. Hunt, and a divine of the church of England: at the second the debate lay between the former Catholic gentleman, Mr. Morgan, accompanied by Mr. Vaughan, supposed to be a priest, and Dr. Hunt, Dr. Chandler, and Mr. John Eames, well known to the world for his integrity and learning: Dr. Talbot Smith was chosen chairman, and the whole company consisted of thirty. A state of these disputations was soon published by an anonymous author, entitled, "**Two conferences held,**" &c. The Catholic party also gave a representation of them to the public in a pamphlet entitled, "**The two conferences, &c. truly stated.**" This brought out from the pen of Dr. Chandler "**An account of the conference held in**

In the year 1736 came out the third volume of the History of the Puritans: and Mr. Neal's design was completed, by the publication of the fourth, in the year 1738, which brought down the history of nonconformity to the act of toleration by king William and queen Mary, in the year 1689. This and Mr. Neal's other historical works spread his name through the learned world, and justly secured to him great and permanent reputation. Dr. Jennings speaking of them says, "I am satisfied that there is no judicious and unprejudiced person, that has conversed with the volumes he wrote, but will acknowledge he had an excellent talent at writing history. His style is most easy and perspicuous; and the judicious remarks, which he leads his readers to make upon facts as they go along, make his histories to be not only more entertaining, but to be more instructive and useful, than most books of that kind."*

While this work was preparing for and going through the press, part of his time was occupied in drawing up and publishing an answer to Dr. Maddox, bishop of St. Asaph; who wrote a pretty long "Vindication of the doctrine, discipline, and worship, of the church of England, established in the reign of queen Elizabeth, from the injurious reflections (as he was pleased to style them) of Mr. Neal's first volume of the History of the Puritans." This answer was entitled, "A review of the principal facts objected to the first volume of the History of the Puritans." It was reckoned to be written with great judgment, and to establish our historian's character for an im-

Nicholas-lane, February 13, 1734-5, between two Romish priests and some Protestant divines, with some remarks on the pamphlet, &c." The doctor's account is confined to the second conference, because he was not present at the first.

Soon after these Salters'-hall sermons were published, there appeared a pamphlet, in 1735, which in 1736 ran to a third edition, entitled, "A supplement to the sermons lately preached at Salters'-hall against Popery: containing just and useful remarks on another great corruption therein omitted." The author of this tract was Mr. G. Killingworth, a respectable lay-gentleman of Norwich. The design of it was to shew, that the reasoning of the gentlemen, who preached those sermons, affected not only the Papists, but themselves, in rejecting the baptism of adult persons, and substituting in the room thereof the sprinkling of infants. The author, with this view, besides stating from the New Testament the evidence in favour of his own sentiments, shrewdly applied a great number of passages from the sermons, somewhat in the way of a parody, to establish his own conclusion; and to prove, that if those gentlemen practised or believed any thing as a part of the religion of the holy Jesus, which could not be plainly and clearly proved from the New Testament (as he conceived that they did in the matter of sprinkling of infants), they must look upon themselves as self-condemned, their own arguments being a full confutation of them. Mr. Killingworth shewed himself an able writer by other pieces in favour of the sentiments for which he was a strenuous advocate: and published also "An Answer" to the late very respectable Mr. Micajah Towgood's tract, entitled, "Infant Baptism a Reasonable Service;" by way of appendix to an examination of Dr. Forster's "Sermon on Catholic Communion." In one of his pieces, he likewise replied to the arguments of Mr. Emlyn's previous question.

* Funeral Sermon, p. 32.

partial regard to truth. And it was reasonably concluded, from this specimen of his powers of defence, that, if his declining state of health had permitted him, he would have as thoroughly vindicated the other volumes from the animadversions afterward published against them by Dr. Zachary Grey.

The pleasure Mr. Neal had in serving the cause of religious liberty had carried him through his undertaking with amazing alacrity. But he engaged in it at an advanced age, and when his health had begun to decline: this, joined with the close application he gave to the prosecution of it, brought on a lingering illness, from which he never recovered. He had been all his life subject, in some degree, to a lowness of spirits, and to complaints of an indisposition in his head. His love of study, and an unremitting attention to the duties of his office, rendered him averse to the frequent use of any exercise that took him off from his books. In the end, repeated strokes of the palsy, first gentle and then more severe, which greatly enfeebled all his powers both of body and mind, baffled the best advice, the aids of medicine, and repeated use of the Bath waters, brought him to his grave, perfectly worn out, in the sixty-fifth year of his age. He died April 4th, 1743.

During the declining state of his health, Mr. Neal applied to the excellent Dr. Doddridge to recommend some young minister, as an assistant to him. A gentleman was pointed out, and appeared in his pulpit with this view; and a letter, which on this occasion he wrote to Dr. Doddridge, and which the doctor endorsed with this memorandum, "Some wise Hints," affords such an agreeable specimen of Mr. Neal's good sense, candour, and prudence, as cannot fail, we think, to render it acceptable to our readers.

"Dear Sir,

"Your letter which I received yesterday gave me a great deal of agreeable entertainment, and made me almost in love with a person that I never saw. His character is the very picture of what I should wish and pray for. There is no manner of exception that can hear of, but that of his delivery, which many, with you, hope may be conquered or very much amended. All express a very great respect and value for Mr. ——— and his ministry, and are highly pleased with his serious and affectionate manner. And I am apt to think, when we have heard him again, even the thickness of the pronunciation of some of his words will in a great measure vanish; it being owing, in a great measure (according to my son), to not making his under and upper lip meet together: but be that as it will, this is all, and the very worst that I know of, to use your own expression.

"I wish, as much as you, that the affair might be speedily issued; but you know that things of this nature, in which many, and those of a different temper, are concerned, must proceed with all tenderness and voluntary freedom, without the least shadow of violence or imaginary hurry. Men love to act for themselves, and with spontaneity; and, as I have sometimes observed, have come at length cheerfully and voluntarily into measures, which they would have opposed, if they had imagined they were to be driven into them.

"I don't mention this, as if it was the present case, for I can assure you it is not: but to put you in mind, that it may possibly not always be for the best to do things too hastily; and therefore I hope you will excuse the digression. I am exceedingly tender of Mr. ——'s character and usefulness; and therefore shall leave it to your prudence to fix the day of his coming up: and you may depend upon my taking all the prudential steps in favour of this affair that I am master of. I hope the satisfaction will be general, but who can answer for it beforehand? It has a promising appearance; but if it comes out otherwise, you shall have a faithful account.

"I am pleased to hear that Mr. —— is under so good an adviser as yourself, who cannot but be apprised of the great importance of this affair both to your academy, to myself, and to the public interest of the dissenters in this city: and I frankly declare I don't know any one place among us in London where he can sit more easy, and enjoy the universal love and affection of a good-natured people, which will give him all fitting encouragement. We are very thankful to you, Sir, for the concern you express for us, and the care you have taken for our supply. I hope you will have a return, from above, of far greater blessings than this world can bestow, and you may expect from me all suitable acknowledgments.

"Pray advise Mr. ——, when you see him, to lay aside all undue concern from his mind, and to speak with freedom and ease. Let him endeavour, by an articulate pronunciation, to make the elder persons hear and those that sit at a greater distance, and all will be well. He has already got a place in the affections of many of the people; and I believe will quickly captivate them all. Assure him that he has a candid audience, who will not make a man an offender for a word. Let him speak to the heart and touch the conscience, and shew himself in earnest in his work: and he will certainly approve himself a workman that needs not be ashamed. I beg pardon for these hints. Let not Mr. —— impress his mind too much with them. My best respects attend

your lady and whole family, not forgetting good Mr. ———, &c.
I am, Sir, in haste,

“Your affectionate brother

“And very humble servant,

“DANIEL NEAL.*

“London, Saturday evening,

“May 12, 1739.

“Brethren, pray for us!”

Disease had, for many months before his death, rendered him almost entirely incapable of public service. This induced him to resign the pastoral office in the November preceding. The considerate, as well as generous manner in which he did it, will appear from the following letter he sent to the church on that occasion:

“To the church of Christ, meeting in Jewin-street, London.

“My dear brethren, and beloved in the Lord,

“God, in his all-wise providence, having seen meet for some time to disable me in a great measure from serving you in the gospel of his Son, and therein to deprive me of one of the greatest satisfactions of my life; I have been waiting upon him in the use of means for a considerable time, as I thought it my duty to do. But not having found such a restoration as might enable me to stated service, it is my duty to acquiesce in his will. And having looked up to him for direction, I think it best for your sakes to surrender my office of a pastor amongst you.

“Upon this occasion it becomes me to make my humblest acknowledgments to the blessed God, for that measure of usefulness he has honoured me with in the course of my labours amongst you; and I render you all my unfeigned thanks for the many affectionate instances of your regard towards me.

“May the Spirit of God direct you in the choice of a wise and able pastor, who may have your spiritual and everlasting welfare at heart. And, for that end, beware of a spirit of division: be ready to condescend to each other's infirmities: keep together in the way of your duty, and in waiting upon God for his direction and blessing: remember, this is the distinguishing mark of the disciples of Christ, ‘that they love one another.’ Finally, my brethren, farewell; be of good comfort and of one mind; live in peace; and the God of love and peace shall be with you.

“I am, your affectionate well-wisher,

“And obedient humble servant,

“DANIEL NEAL.”†

* The above letter was very obligingly communicated by the reverend Thomas Stedman, vicar of St. Chad's, Shrewsbury.

† From the MSS. account.

From the first attack of his long illness, it appears he had serious apprehensions how it would terminate; and a letter written from Bath, in April 1739, to a worthy friend,* shews the excellent state of his mind under those views.

“My greatest concern (he says) is, to have rational and solid expectations of a future happiness. I would not be mistaken, nor build on the sand; but would impress my mind with a firm belief of the certainty of the future world, and live in a practical preparation for it. I rely very much on the rational notions we have of the moral perfections of God, not only as a just but a benevolent and merciful Being, who knows our frame, and will make all reasonable allowances for our imperfections and follies in life; and not only so, but, upon repentance and faith in Christ, will pardon our past sins, though never so many or great.

“In aid of the imperfection of our rational notions, I am very thankful for the glorious truths of gospel-revelation, which are an additional superstructure on the other: for though we can believe nothing contrary to our reason, we have a great many excellent and comfortable discoveries built upon and superadded to it. Upon this double foundation would I build all my expectations, with an humble and awful reverence of the majesty of the great Judge of all the earth, and a fiducial reliance on the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ to eternal life. In this frame of mind, I desire to fear God, and keep his commandments.”

In all his sensible intervals, during his last illness, he enjoyed an uncommon serenity of mind; and behaved becoming a Christian and a minister.†

* This friend was Dr. Henry Miles, an eminent dissenting minister at Tooting in Surrey, and a respectable member of the Royal Society, who died February 10, 1763, in the sixty-fifth year of his age. He was a native of Stroud in Gloucestershire. His knowledge in natural history, botany, and experimental philosophy, for which he had a remarkable taste, occasioned his being elected a member of the Royal Society in 1743, in the transactions of which appear several papers from his pen; and Dr. Birch, in the preface to his fine edition of Mr. Boyle's works, handsomely says, that the conduct and improvement of that edition were chiefly to be ascribed to the great labour, judgment, and sagacity, of the learned Mr. Miles, and that to him the public owed considerable additions never before published. Besides this, he could never be prevailed upon to publish more than a single sermon, preached at the Old-Jewry, on occasion of a public charity in 1738. He was a hard student. His preparations for the pulpit cost him incessant labour; and for a course of thirty years he constantly rose, two days in the week, at two or three o'clock in the morning, to compose his sermons. He lived like an excellent Christian and minister: his behaviour was on all occasions that of a gentleman; the simplicity of his spirit and manners was very remarkable; his conversation instructive and entertaining; his countenance was always open, mild, and amiable; and his carriage so condescending and courteous, even to his inferiors, as plainly discovered a most humane and benevolent heart. He was the friend of Dr. Lardner and Dr. Doddridge; and in the correspondence of the latter, published by the Rev. Mr. Stedman, there are several of his letters. See also Dr. Furneas's Funeral Sermon for Dr. Miles.

† Letters to and from Dr. Doddridge, 1790, p. 358.

This peaceful state of mind and comfortable hope he possessed to the last.* About a month before his death, he appeared to his fellow-worshippers, at the Lord's supper, with an air so extraordinarily serious and heavenly, as made some present say, "he looked as if he were not long for this world."

The preceding particulars and his writings will, in part, enable the reader to form for himself a just opinion of Mr. Neal's character: and will certainly give credibility to what is reported concerning it.

He filled the relations of domestic life with integrity and honour; and left a deep and fond regret in the hearts of his family.† In his public connexions, he was the prudent counsellor, and a faithful, steady friend. His labours in the pulpit, and his visits in families, while his health continued firm, were edifying and entertaining. He had an easy agreeable manner, both in the style and in the delivery of his sermons, free from affectation. In conversation, he knew how to mix grave and prudent instruction or advice with a becoming cheerfulness, which made his company to be pleasing and profitable.

He was honoured with the friendship of some in very high stations; and, in early life, contracted an acquaintance with several, who afterward made a considerable figure in the learned world, both in the established church and amongst the dissenters.

The repeated and frequent invitations he received to appear in the pulpit, on singular and public occasions, especially the share he had in the lectures at Salters'-hall, against Popery, are honourable proofs of the respect and estimation in which his abilities and character were in general held, even by those who differed from him in their sentiments on many questions of doctrine and church-government.

His own doctrinal sentiments were supposed to come nearest to those of Calvin; which he looked upon as most agreeable to the sacred Scriptures, and most adapted to the great ends of religion.

* Dr. Jennings's Funeral Sermon, and the MSS. account.

† Of this we have a proof in the expressive and affecting manner in which his son wrote, concerning his death, to Dr. Doddridge. "The report which you had heard of my honoured father's death was too well founded, if it is becoming the filial gratitude I owe to his memory to seem to repine at my own loss, which I am satisfied is greatly his gain; especially when his nobler powers were so much obscured, even to the sight of his friends, as they have been for some time past by the bodily decays he laboured under. But notwithstanding all the admirable reliefs which reason and faith afford under the uneasiness which nature feels on the loss of so near and (who had been) so desirable a relation, and the many circumstances of weakness which seemed to make dissolution less formidable, yet the parting season will be gloomy, the breathless corpse of a once dear and valuable friend will affect us, and the carrying out of our house, and leaving behind us in a solitary tomb, all that was visible (when at the same time it was so venerable) of a father, strikes a damp on the spirits, which is not easily overcome or forgotten." Letters to and from Dr. Doddridge, p. 355, &c.

But neither were his charity nor his friendships confined to men of his own opinion. The Bible alone was his standard for religious truth: and he was willing and desirous, that all others should be at perfect liberty to take and follow it, as their own rule.—The unchristian heats and unhappy differences, which had arisen amongst Christians by the restraints that been laid, more or less, by all parties, when in power, on the faith or worship of their fellow-Christians, had fixed in him an utter aversion to imposition upon conscience in any shape, and to all such party distinctions as would naturally lead to it.

Mr. Neal married Elizabeth, the only daughter of the reverend Richard Lardner, many years pastor of a congregation at Deal,* and sister of the great and excellent Dr. Lardner. She survived Mr. Neal about five years, dying in 1748. They left a son and two daughters: one of these ladies married Mr. Joseph Jennings, of Fenchurch-street, the eldest son of the Rev. Dr. David Jennings; the other the Rev. Mr. Lister, minister of the dissenting congregation at Ware. His son, Mr. Nathaniel Neal, was an eminent attorney, and secretary to the Million-bank. He wrote a pamphlet, entitled, "A free and serious remonstrance to Protestant dissenting ministers, on occasion of the decay of religion;" which was republished by the late Rev. Job Orton, in 1775. Many admirable letters of this gentleman to Dr. Doddridge, are given to the public in that instructive and entertaining collection of letters to and from the doctor, which we owe to the Rev. Thomas Stedman, vicar of St. Chad's, Shrewsbury; and who, to the mention of Mr. Nathaniel Neal, adds from a correspondent, "whose character I never think of without the highest veneration and esteem, as few ever possessed more eminently the virtues of the heart, united with a very superior understanding and judgment."†

* The character of Mr. Lardner, drawn by his son-in-law Mr. Neal, forms the sixth number of the Appendix to Dr. Lardner's life, prefixed to the new edition of his works in 8vo.

† Letters, and p. 353. Note.

EDITOR'S ADVERTISEMENT.

MORE than half a century has elapsed, since the work, now again offered to the public, made its first appearance. The author gave it a second edition in 4to. In 1755 it was printed at Dublin, on the plan of the first impression, in four volumes octavo. The English editions have, for a number of years, been scarce; and copies of the work, as it has been justly held in high estimation by dissenters, have borne a high price. Foreigners also have referred to it as a book of authority, affording the most ample information on that part of the English history which it comprehends.*

A republication of it will, on these accounts, it is supposed, be acceptable to the friends of religious liberty. Several circumstances concur to render it, at this time, peculiarly seasonable. The Protestant dissenters, by their repeated applications to parliaments, have attracted notice and excited an inquiry into their principles and history. The odium and obloquy, of which they have recently become the objects, are a call upon them to appeal to both in their own justification. Their history, while it brings up to painful review scenes of spiritual tyranny and oppression, connects itself with the rise and progress of religious liberty; and necessarily brings forward many important and interesting transactions, which are not to be met with in the general histories of our country, because not falling within the province of the authors to detail.

The Editor has been induced, by these considerations, to comply with a proposal to revise Mr. Neal's work. In doing this, he has taken no other liberty with the original text, than to cast into notes some papers and lists of names, which appeared to him too much to interrupt the narrative. This alteration in the form of it promises to render it more pleasing to the eye, and more agreeable to the perusal. He has, where he could procure the works quoted, which he has been able to do in most instances, examined and corrected the references, and so ascertained the fairness and accuracy of the authorities. He has reviewed the animadversions of bishops Maddox and Warburton, and Dr. Grey; and given the result of his scrutiny in notes; by which the credit of the author is eventually established. He has not suppressed strictures of his

* Mosheim, Dictionnaire de Heresies, and Wendeborn.

own, where he conceived there was occasion for them. It has been his aim, in conducting this work through the press, to support the character of the diligent, accurate, and impartial Editor. How far he has done this, he must leave to the candid to determine.

Whatever inaccuracies or mistakes the eye of criticism may discover, he is confident, that they cannot essentially affect the execution of the design, any more than the veracity of the author. The remark, which Mr. Neal advanced as a plea in his own defence, against the censure of bishop Maddox, will apply with force, the Editor conceives, to his own case; as in the first instance it had great weight. "The commission of errors in writing any history of times past (says the ingenious Mr. Wharton, in his letter to Mr. Strype), being altogether unavoidable, ought not to detract from the credit of the history, or the merits of the historian, unless it be accompanied with immoderate ostentation, or unhandsome reflections on the errors of others."*

The Editor has only farther to solicit any communications, which may tend to improve this impression of Neal's History; or to furnish materials for the Continuation of the History of the Protestant Dissenters from the Revolution, with which period Mr. Neal's design closes, to the present times: as he has it in contemplation, if Providence favour him with life and health, to prepare such a work for the press.

Taunton, 13th June, 1793.

* Mr. Wharton discovered as many errors in Mr. Strype's single volume of Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, as filled three sheets: yet Mr. Strype's collections were justly entitled to the commendations of posterity, as a work of great utility and authority. See Neal's Review, p. 6. 8vo.

own, which he considered there was something to be learned from him, as compared with the other two, and he was not the character of the subject, and he was not the character of the subject, and he was not the character of the subject.

Whatever his merits or demerits, the fact is, that he was not the character of the subject, and he was not the character of the subject, and he was not the character of the subject. The result of his efforts, as far as the subject is concerned, is that he was not the character of the subject, and he was not the character of the subject, and he was not the character of the subject.

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HISTORY

OF

THE PURITANS.

CHAP. I.

REIGN OF HENRY VIII.

KING William the Conqueror, having got possession of the crown of England, by the assistance of the see of Rome; and king John, having afterward sold it, in his wars with the barons; the rights and privileges of the English clergy were delivered up into the hands of the pope, who taxed them at his pleasure, and in process of time drained the kingdom of immense treasures; for, besides all his other dues, arising from annates, first-fruits, Peter-pence, &c. he extorted large sums of money from the clergy for their preferments in the church. He advanced foreigners to the richest bishopricks, who never resided in their diocesses, nor so much as set foot upon English ground, but sent for all their profits to a foreign country; nay, so covetous was his holiness, that before livings became void, he sold them provisionally among his Italians, insomuch, that neither the king nor the clergy had any thing to dispose of, but every thing was bargained for beforehand at Rome. This awakened the resentments of the legislature, who in the twenty-fifth year of Edward III. passed an act, called the statute of provisors, to establish, "that the king, and other lords, shall present unto benefices of their own, or their ancestors' foundation, and not the bishop of Rome." This act enacted, "that all forestalling of benefices to foreigners shall cease; and that the free elections, presentments, and collations, of benefices, shall stand in right of the crown, or of any of his majesty's subjects, as they had formerly enjoyed them, notwithstanding any provisions from Rome."

But still the power of the court of Rome ran very high, for they brought all the trials of titles to advowsons into their own courts beyond sea; and though by the seventh of Richard II. the power of nomination to benefices, without the king's licence, was taken from them, they still claimed the benefit of confirmations, of translations of bishops, and of excommunications; the archbishops of Canterbury and York might, still, by virtue of bulls from Rome, assemble the clergy of their several provinces, at what time and place they thought fit, without leave obtained from the crown; and all the canons and constitutions concluded upon in those synods were binding, without any farther ratification from the king; so that the power of the church was independent of the civil government. This being represented to the parliament of the sixteenth of Richard II. they passed the statute commonly called *præmunire*, by which it was enacted, "that if any did purchase translations to benefices, processes, sentences of excommunication, bulls, or any other instruments from the court of Rome, against the king or his crown; or whoever brought them into England, or did receive or execute them, they were declared to be out of the king's protection, and should forfeit their goods and chattels to the king, and should be attached by their bodies, if they may be found, and brought before the king and council, to answer to the cases aforesaid; or that process should be made against them, by *præmunire facias*, in manner as it is ordained in other statutes of provisors; and other which do sue in any other court in derogation of the regality of the king."* From this time the archbishops called no more convocations by their sole authority, but by licence from the king; their synods being formed by writ or precept from the crown, directed to the archbishops, to assemble their clergy, in order to consult upon such affairs as his majesty should lay before them. But still their canons were binding, though confirmed by no authority but their own, till the act of submission of the clergy took place.

About this time flourished the famous John Wickliffe, the morning-star of the Reformation. He was born at Wickliffe, near Richmond in Yorkshire,† about the year 1324,

* Fuller's Church History, book 4. p. 145—148.

† See the very valuable Life of Wickliffe, published by the Rev. Mr. Lewis of Margate, which begins thus: "John de Wickliffe was born, very probably, about

and was educated in Queen's college, Oxford, where he was divinity professor, and afterward parson of Lutterworth in Leicestershire. He flourished in the latter end of the reign of king Edward III. and the beginning of Richard II. about one hundred and thirty years before the Reformation of Luther. The university gave this testimonial of him after his death, "that from his youth to the time of his death, his conversation was so praiseworthy, that there was never any spot or suspicion noised of him; that in his reading and preaching he behaved like a stout and valiant champion of the faith; and that he had written in logic, philosophy, divinity, morality, and the speculative arts, without an equal." While he was divinity-professor at Oxford, he published certain conclusions—against transubstantiation, and against the infallibility of the pope; that the church of Rome was not the head of all other churches; nor had St. Peter the power of the keys, any more than the rest of the apostles; that the New Testament, or Gospel, is a perfect rule of life and manners, and ought to be read by the people.*—He maintained, farther, most of those points by which the Puritans were afterward distinguished; as, that in the sacrament of orders there ought to be but two degrees, presbyters, or bishops, and deacons: that all

the year 1324, in the parish of Wickliffe, near Richmond in Yorkshire, and was first admitted commoner of Queen's college, Oxford, then newly founded by Robert Eglesfield, S. T. B. but was soon after removed to Merton-college, where he was first probationer, and afterward fellow. He was advanced to the professor's chair 1372. It appears by this ingenious writer, as well as by the *Catalogus Testium*, that Wickliffe was for 'rejecting all human rites, and new shadows or traditions in religion:—and with regard to the identity of the order of bishops and priests in the apostolic age,' he is very positive. *Unum audacter assero*,—one thing I boldly assert, that in the primitive church, or in the time of the apostle Paul, two orders of clergy were thought sufficient, viz. priest and deacon; and I do also say, that in the time of Paul, *fuit idem presbyter atque episcopus*, a priest and a bishop were one and the same; for in those times the distinct orders of pope, cardinals, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, officials, and deans, were not invented."

Mr. Neal's review of the first volume of the History of the Puritans, subjoined to the quarto edition of this history, vol. 1. p. 890. ED.

To Mr. Neal's account of Wickliffe's sentiments, it may be added, that he advanced some tenets which not only symbolize with, but directly led to, the peculiar opinions of those who, called Baptists, have in subsequent ages formed a large body of dissenters, viz. "that wise men leave that as impertinent, which is not plainly expressed in Scripture; that those are fools and presumptuous which affirm such infants not to be saved which die without baptism; that baptism doth not confer, but only signify grace, which was given before. He also denied, that all sins are abolished in baptism; and asserted, that children may be saved without baptism; and that the baptism of water profiteth not, without the baptism of the Spirit." Fuller's Church History, b. 4. p. 130. Trialogus, lib. 4. cap. 1. ED.

* Fox's Martyrol. Pierce's Vindicat. p. 4, 5.

human traditions are superfluous and sinful; that we must practise, and teach only, the laws of Christ; that mystical and significant ceremonies in religious worship are unlawful; and that to restrain men to a prescribed form of prayer, is contrary to the liberty granted them by God. These, with some other of Wickliffe's doctrines, against the temporal grandeur of the prelates and their usurped authority, were sent to Rome and condemned by pope Gregory XI. in a consistory of twenty-three cardinals, in the year 1378. But the pope dying soon after put a stop to the process. Urban, his successor, writ to young king Richard II. and to the archbishop of Canterbury and the university of Oxford, to put a stop to the progress of Wickliffism; accordingly, Wickliffe was cited before the archbishop of Canterbury, and his brethren the prelates, several times, but was always dismissed, either by the interest of the citizens of London, or the powerful interposition of some great lords at court, or some other uncommon providence, which terrified the bishops from passing a peremptory sentence against him for a considerable time; but at length his new doctrines, as they were called, were condemned in a convocation of bishops, doctors, and bachelors, held at London by the commandment of the archbishop of Canterbury 1312, and he was deprived of his professorship, his books and writings were ordered to be burned, and himself to be imprisoned; but he kept out of the way, and in the time of his retirement writ a confession of his faith to the pope, in which he declares himself willing to maintain his opinions at Rome, if God had not otherwise visited him with sickness, and other infirmities: but it was well for this good man that there were two antipopes at this time at war with each other, one at Rome, and the other at Avignon. In England also there was a minority, which was favourable to Wickliffe, insomuch that he ventured out of his retirement, and returned to his parish at Lutterworth, where he quietly departed this life in the year 1384. This Wickliffe was a wonderful man for the times in which he lived, which were overspread with the thickest darkness of antichristian idolatry; he was the first that translated the New Testament into English; but the art of printing not being then found out, it hardly escaped the inquisition of the prelates, at least it was very scarce when Tyndal translated it a second time in 1527. He

preached and published the very same doctrines for substance that afterward obtained at the Reformation; he writ near two hundred volumes, all which were called in, condemned, and ordered to be burned, together with his bones, by the council of Constance, in the year 1425, forty-one years after his death; but his doctrine remained, and the number of his disciples, who were distinguished by the name of Lollards, increased after his decease, which gave occasion to the making sundry other severe laws against heretics.

The clergy made their advantage of the contentions between the houses of York and Lancaster; both parties courting their assistance, which they did not fail to make use of for the support of the Catholic faith, as they called it, and the advancement of their spiritual tyranny over the consciences of men. In the primitive times there were no capital proceedings against heretics, the weapons of the church being only spiritual; but when it was found that ecclesiastical censures were not sufficient to keep men in a blind subjection to the pope, a decree was obtained in the fourth council of Lateran, A. D. 1215, "that all heretics should be delivered over to the civil magistrate to be burned." Here was the spring of that antichristian tyranny and oppression of the consciences of men, which has since been attended with a sea of Christian blood: the Papists learned it from the Heathen emperors; and the most zealous Protestants of all nations have taken it up from them. Conscience cannot be convinced by fines and imprisonments, or by fire and faggot; all attempts of this kind serve only to make men hypocrites, and are deservedly branded with the name of persecution. There was no occasion for putting these sanguinary laws in execution among us till the latter end of the fourteenth century; but when the Lollards, or followers of Wickliffe, threatened the Papal power, the clergy brought this Italian drug from Rome, and planted it in the church of England.

In the fifth year of Richard II. it was enacted, "that all that preached without licence against the Catholic faith, or against the laws of the land, should be arrested, and kept in prison, till they justified themselves according to the law and reason of holy church. Their commitment was to be by writ from the chancellor, who was to issue forth commissions to the sheriffs and other the king's ministers, after

the bishops had returned the names of the delinquents into the court of Chancery."

When Richard II. was deposed, and the crown usurped by Henry IV. in order to gain the good-will of the clergy, it was farther enacted, in the second year of his reign, "that if any persons were suspected of heresy, the ordinary might detain them in prison till they were canonically purged, or did abjure their errors; provided always, that the proceedings against them were publicly and judicially ended within three months. If they were convicted, the diocesan, or his commissary, might imprison and fine them at discretion. Those that refused to abjure their errors, or after abjuration relapsed, were to be delivered over to the secular power, and the mayors, sheriffs, or bailiffs, were to be present, if required, when the bishop, or his commissary passed sentence, and after sentence they were to receive them, and in some high place burn them to death before the people." By this law the king's subjects were put from under his protection, and left to the mercy of the bishops in their spiritual courts, and might, upon suspicion of heresy, be imprisoned and put to death, without presentment, or trial by a jury, as is the practice in all other criminal cases.

In the beginning of the reign of Henry V. who was a martial prince, a new law passed against the Lollards or Wickliffites,* "that they should forfeit all the lands they had in fee-simple, and all their goods and chattels to the king. All state-officers, at their entrance into office, were sworn to use their best endeavours to discover them; and to assist the ordinaries in prosecuting and convicting them."

* It marks the profaneness, as well as cruelty of the act, here quoted by Mr. Neal, that it was not directed merely against the avowed followers of Wickliffe as such, but against the perusal of the Scriptures in English: for it enacted, "that whatsoever they were that should read the Scriptures in the mother-tongue (which was then called *Wicleue's learning*), they should forfeit land, catel, lif, and godes, from theyr heyres for ever, and so be condemned for heretykes to God, enemies to the crowne, and most errant traitors to the lande." *Emlyn's Complete Collection of State Trials*, p. 48. as quoted in *Dr. Flemming's Palladium*, p. 30. note.

So great an alarm did the doctrine of Wickliffe raise, and so high did the fear of its spread rise, that by the statute of 5 Rich. II. and 2 Hen. IV. c. 15. it was enacted, as part of the sheriff's oath, "that he should seek to redress all errors and heresies, commonly called Lollards." And it is a striking instance of the permanent footing, which error and absurdity, and even iniquity, gain, when once established by law, that this clause was preserved in the oath long after the Reformation, even to the first of Charles I. when Sir Edward Coke, on being appointed sheriff of the county of Buckingham, objected to it; and ever since it has been left out. *The Complete Sheriff*, p. 17. Ed.

I find no mention in any of these acts, of a writ or warrant from the king, *de hæretico comburendo*; the sheriff might proceed to the burning of heretics without it; but it seems the king's learned council advised him to issue out a writ of this kind to the sheriff, by which his majesty took them, in some sort, under his protection again; but it was not as yet necessary by law, nor are there any of them to be found in the rolls, before the reign of king Henry VIII.

By virtue of these statutes the clergy, according to the genius of the Popish religion, exercised numberless cruelties upon the people. If any man denied them any degree of respect, or any of those profits they pretended was their due, he was immediately suspected of heresy, imprisoned, and it may be put to death; of which some hundreds of examples are upon record.*

Thus stood the laws with respect to religion, when king Henry VIII. second son of king Henry VII. came to the crown; he was born in the year 1491, and bred a scholar: he understood the purity of the Latin tongue, and was well acquainted with school-divinity. No sort of flattery pleased him better than to have his wisdom and learning commended. In the beginning of his reign he was a most obedient son of the Papacy, and employed his talents in writing against Luther in defence of the seven sacraments of the church. This book was magnified by the clergy as the most learned performance of the age; and upon presenting it to the pope, his holiness conferred upon the king of England and his successors, the glorious title of DEFENDER OF THE FAITH: it was voted in full consistory, and signed by twenty-seven cardinals, in the year 1521.†

* Thus, in the reign of Edward IV. John Keyser was committed to jail, by Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, on the suspicion of heresy, because, having been excommunicated, he said, "that notwithstanding the archbishop or his commissary had excommunicated him, yet, before God, he was not excommunicated, for his corn yielded as well as his neighbours." Thus also, in the reign of Henry VII. Hilary Warner was arrested on the charge of heresy; because he said, "that he was not bound to pay tithes to the curate of the parish where he lived."

Coke's Institutes, 3 inst. p. 42, quoted in a treatise on heresy as cognizable in the spiritual courts, p. 22, 23. ED.

† "The extravagant praises which he received for this performance," observes Dr. Warner, "meeting with so much pride and conceitedness in his nature, made him from this time impatient of all contradiction on religious subjects, and to set up himself for the standard of truth, by which his people were to regulate their belief." Ecclesiastical History, vol. 2. p. 228. We are surprised in the event, to see this prince, who was now "the pride of Popery, become its scourge." Such are the fluctuations in human characters and affairs, and so unsearchable are the ways of Providence! ED.

At the same time cardinal Wolsey, the king's favourite, exercised a sovereign power over the whole clergy and people of England in spiritual matters; he was made legate in the year 1519, and accepted of a bull from the pope, contrary to the statute of *præmunire*, empowering him to superintend and correct what he thought amiss in both the provinces of Canterbury and York; and to appoint all officers in the spiritual courts.* The king also granted him a full power of disposing of all ecclesiastical benefices in the gift of the crown; with a visitatorial power over monasteries, colleges, and all his clergy, exempt or not exempt. By virtue of these vast powers a new court of justice was erected, called the Legate's court, the jurisdiction whereof extended to all actions relating to conscience, and numberless rapines and extortions were committed by it under colour of reforming men's manners; all which his majesty connived at out of zeal to the church.

But at length the king being weary of his queen Katharine, after he had lived with her almost twenty years, or being troubled in conscience because he had married his brother's wife, and the legitimacy of his daughter had been called in question by some foreign princes, he first separated from her bed, and then moved the pope for a divorce; but the court of Rome having held his majesty in suspense for two or three years for fear of offending the emperor the queen's nephew, the impatient king, by the advice of Dr. Cranmer, appealed to the principal universities of Europe, and desired their opinions upon these two questions,

1. "Whether it was agreeable to the law of God for a man to marry his brother's wife?"

2. "Whether the pope could dispense with the law of God?"

All the universities, and most of the learned men of Europe, both Lutherans and Papists, except those at Rome, declared for the negative of the two questions. The king laid their determinations before the parliament and convocation, who agreed with the foreign universities. In the convocation of English clergy, two hundred and fifty-three were for the divorce, and but nineteen against it. Sundry learned books were written for and against the lawfulness of the marriage; one party being encouraged by the king, and the

* Burnet's Hist. Ref. vol. 1. p. 8.

other by the pope and emperor. The pope cited the king to Rome, but his majesty ordered the earl of Wiltshire to protest against the citation as contrary to the prerogative of his crown; and sent a letter signed by the cardinal, the archbishop of Canterbury, four bishops, two dukes, two marquisses, thirteen earls, two viscounts, twenty-three barons, twenty-two abbots, and eleven commoners, exhorting his holiness to confirm the judgment of the learned men, and of the universities of Europe, by annulling his marriage, or else he should be obliged to take other measures. The pope in his answer, after having acknowledged his majesty's favours, told him that the queen's appeal and avocation of the cause to Rome must be granted. The king seeing himself abused, and that the affair of his marriage, which had been already determined by the most learned men in Europe, and had been argued before the legates Campegio and Wolsey, must commence again, began to suspect Wolsey's sincerity; upon which his majesty sent for the seals from him, and soon after commanded his attorney-general to put in an information against him in the King's Bench, because that, notwithstanding the statute of Richard II. against procuring bulls from Rome under the pains of a *præmunire*, he had received bulls for his legatine power, which for many years he had executed. The cardinal pleaded ignorance of the statute, and submitted to the king's mercy; upon which he was declared to be out of the king's protection, to have forfeited his goods and chattels, and that his person might be seized. The haughty cardinal, not knowing how to bear his disgrace, soon after fell sick and died, declaring that if he had served God as well as he had done his prince, he would not have given him over in his gray hairs.

But the king, not satisfied with his resentments against the cardinal, resolved to be revenged on the pope himself, and accordingly, Sept. 19, a week before the cardinal's death, he published a proclamation forbidding all persons to purchase any thing from Rome under the severest penalties; and resolved to annex the ecclesiastical supremacy to his own crown for the future. It was easy to foresee that the clergy would startle at the king's assuming to himself the pope's supremacy; but his majesty had them at his mercy, for they having acknowledged cardinal Wolsey's legatine power, and submitted to his jurisdiction, his majesty caused an in-

dictment to be preferred against them in Westminster-hall, and obtained judgment upon the statute of *præmunire*, whereby the whole body of the clergy were declared to be out of the king's protection, and to have forfeited all their goods and chattels.

In this condition they were glad to submit upon the best terms they could get, but the king would not pardon them but upon these two conditions, (1.) That the two provinces of Canterbury and York should pay into the Exchequer 118,840*l.* a vast sum of money in those times. (2.) That they should yield his majesty the title of sole and supreme head of the church of England, next and immediately under Christ. The former they readily complied with, and promised for the future never to assemble in convocation but by the king's writ; nor to make or execute any canons or constitutions without his majesty's licence: but to acknowledge a layman to be supreme head of an ecclesiastical body, was such an absurdity, in their opinion, and so inconsistent with their allegiance to the pope, that they could not yield to it without an additional clause, as far as is agreeable to the laws of Christ. The king accepted it with the clause for the present, but a year or two after obtained the confirmation of it in parliament and convocation without the clause.

The substance of the act of supremacy* is as follows: "Albeit the king's majesty justly and rightfully is, and ought to be, supreme head of the church of England, and is so recognised by the clergy of this realm in their convocations; yet nevertheless, for confirmation and corroboration thereof, and for increase of virtue in Christ's religion, within this realm of England, &c. be it enacted by the authority of this present parliament, that the king, our sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, kings of this realm, shall be taken, accepted, and reputed, the only supreme head on earth of the church of England; and shall have and enjoy, annexed and united to the imperial crown of this realm, as well the title and style thereof, as all honours, dignities, immunities, profits, and commodities, to the said dignity of supreme head of the said church belonging and appertaining; and that our sovereign lord, his heirs and successors kings of this realm, shall have full power and authority to visit, repress, redress, reform, order,

* 26 Henry VIII. cap. 1.

correct, restrain, and amend, all such errors, heresies, abuses, contempts, and enormities, whatsoever they be, which by any manner of spiritual authority or jurisdiction, ought or may be lawfully reformed, repressed, ordered, redressed, corrected, restrained, or amended, most to the pleasure of Almighty God, and increase of virtue in Christ's religion, and for the conversation of peace, unity, and tranquillity, of this realm; any usage, custom, foreign law, foreign authority, prescription, or any thing or things to the contrary notwithstanding."

Here was the rise of the Reformation. The whole power of reforming heresies and errors in doctrine and worship was transferred from the pope to the king, without any regard to the rights of synods or councils of the clergy; and without a reserve of liberty to such consciences as could not comply with the public standard. This was undoubtedly a change for the better, but is far from being consonant to Scripture or reason.

The parliament had already forbid all appeals to the court of Rome, in causes testamentary, matrimonial, and in all disputes concerning divorces, tithes, oblations, &c. under penalty of a *præmunire*;* and were now voting away annates and first-fruits; and providing, "that in case the pope denied his bulls for electing or consecrating bishops, it should be done without them by the archbishop of the province; that an archbishop might be consecrated by any two bishops whom the king should appoint: and being so consecrated should enjoy all the rights of his see, any law or custom to the contrary notwithstanding." All which acts passed both houses without any considerable opposition.—Thus, while the pope stood trifling about a contested marriage, the king and parliament took away all his profits, revenues, and authority, in the church of England.

His majesty having now waited six years for a determination of his marriage from the court of Rome, and being now himself head of the church of England, commanded Dr. Cranmer, lately consecrated archbishop of Canterbury, to call a court of canonists and divines, and proceed to judgment. Accordingly his grace summoned queen Katharine to appear at Dunstable, near the place where she resided, in person or by proxy on the 20th of May, 1533, but her

* 24 Hen. VIII. cap. 12.

majesty refused to appear, adhering to her appeal to the court of Rome; upon which the archbishop, by advice of the court, declared her *contumax*, and on the 23d of the same month pronounced the king's marriage with her null and void, as being contrary to the laws of God. Soon after which his majesty married Anne Bullen, and procured an act of parliament for settling the crown upon the heirs of her body, which all his subjects were obliged to swear to.

There was a remarkable appearance of Divine Providence in this affair; for the French king had prevailed with the king of England, to refer his cause once more to the court of Rome, upon assurances given, that the pope should decide it in his majesty's favour within a limited time; the pope consented, and fixed a time for the return of the king's answer, but the courier not arriving upon the very day, the Imperialists, who dreaded an alliance between the pope and the king of England, persuaded his holiness to give sentence against him, and accordingly, March 23d, the marriage was declared good, and the king was required to take his wife again, otherwise the censures of the church were to be denounced against him.* Two days after this the courier arrived from England with the king's submission under his hand in due form, but it was then too late, it being hardly decent for the infallible chair to revoke its decrees in so short a time. Such was the crisis of the Reformation!

The pope having decided against the king, his majesty determined to take away all his profits and authority over the church of England at once; accordingly a bill was brought into the parliament then sitting, and passed without any protestation, by which it is enacted, "that all payments made to the apostolic chamber, and all provisions, bulls, or dispensations, should from thenceforth cease; and that all dispensations or licences, for things not contrary to the law of God, should be granted within the kingdom, under the seals of the two archbishops in their several provinces. The pope was to have no farther concern in the nomination or confirmation of bishops, which were appointed to be chosen by *conge d'elire* from the crown, as at present. Peter-pence, and all procurations from Rome,

* Burnet's Hist. Ref. vol. 1. p. 135.

were abolished. Moreover, all religious houses, exempt or not exempt, were to be subject to the archbishops' visitation, except some monasteries and abbeys which were to be subject to the king."* Most of the bishops voted against this bill, but all but one set their hands to it after it was passed, according to the custom of those times. Thus the church of England became independent of the pope, and all foreign jurisdiction.

Complaints being daily made of the severe proceedings of the ecclesiastical courts against heretics, the parliament took this matter into consideration, and repealed the act of the second of Henry IV. above mentioned, but left the statutes of Richard II. and Henry V. in full force, with this qualification, that heretics should be proceeded against upon presentments by two witnesses at least; that they should be brought to answer in open court; and if they were found guilty, and would not abjure, or were relapsed, they should be adjudged to death, the king's writ *de hæretico comburendo* being first obtained.† By this act the ecclesiastical courts were limited; heretics being now to be tried according to the forms of law, as in other cases.

Towards the latter end of this session the clergy, assembled in convocation, sent up their submission to the king to be passed in parliament, which was done accordingly: the contents were, "that the clergy acknowledged all convocations ought to be assembled by the king's writ; and promised, *in verbo sacerdotii*, that they would never make nor execute any new canons or constitutions without the royal assent; and since many canons had been received that were found prejudicial to the king's prerogative, contrary to the laws of the land, and heavy to the subjects, that therefore there should be a committee of thirty-two persons, sixteen of the two houses of parliament, and as many of the clergy, to be named by the king, who should have full power to revise the old canons, and to abrogate, confirm, or alter, them as they found expedient, the king's assent being obtained."

This submission was confirmed by parliament; and by the same act all appeals to Rome were again condemned. If any parties found themselves aggrieved in the archbishops' courts, an appeal might be made to the king in the court of Chancery,

* 25 Henry VIII. cap. 20, 21.

† 25 Henry VIII. cap. 14.

and the lord-chancellor was to grant a commission under the great seal for a hearing before delegates, whose determination should be final. All exempted abbots were also to appeal to the king; and the act concluded with a proviso, "that till such correction of the canons was made, all those which were then received should remain in force, except such as were contrary to the laws and customs of the realm, or were to the damage or hurt of the king's prerogative." Upon the proviso of this act all the proceedings of the commons and other spiritual courts are founded; for the canons not being corrected to this day, the old ones are in force with the exceptions above mentioned; and this proviso is probably the reason why the canons were not corrected in the following reigns, for now it lies in the breast of the judges to declare what canons are contrary to the laws or rights of the crown, which is more for the king's prerogative, than to make a collection of ecclesiastical laws which should be fixed and immoveable.

Before the parliament broke up they gave the annates or first-fruits of benefices, and the yearly revenue of the tenth part of all livings, which had been taken from the pope last year, to the king. This displeased the clergy, who were in hopes of being freed from that burden; but they were mistaken, for by the thirty-second of Henry VIII. cap. 45. a court of record is ordered to be erected, called the court of the first-fruits and tenths, for the levying and government of the said first-fruits for ever.

The session being ended, commissioners were sent over the kingdom, to administer the oath of succession to all his majesty's subjects, according to a late act of parliament, by which it appears that, besides renewing their allegiance to the king, and acknowledging him to be the head of the church, they declared upon oath 'the lawfulness of his marriage with queen Anne, and that they would be true to the issue begotten in it. That the bishop of Rome had no more power than any other bishop in his own diocess; that they would submit to all the king's laws, notwithstanding the pope's censures; that in their prayers they would pray first for the king as supreme head of the church of England; then for the queen [Anne], then for the archbishop of Canterbury, and the other ranks of the clergy.' Only Fisher bishop of Rochester, and sir Thomas More lord-chancellor,

refused to take the oath, for which they afterward lost their lives.

The separation of the church of England from Rome contributed something towards the reformation of its doctrines, though the body of the inferior clergy were as stiff for their old opinions as ever, being countenanced and supported by the duke of Norfolk, by the lord-chancellor More, by Gardiner bishop of Winchester, and Fisher of Rochester; but some of the nobility and bishops were for a farther reformation: among these were the new queen, lord Cromwell afterward earl of Essex, Dr. Cranmer archbishop of Canterbury, Shaxton bishop of Salisbury, and Latimer of Worcester. As these were more or less in favour with the king, the reformation of religion went forwards or backwards throughout the whole course of his reign.

The progress of the Reformation in Germany, by the preaching of Luther, Melancthon, and others, with the number of books that were published in those parts, some of which were translated into English, revived learning, and raised people's curiosities to look into the state of religion here at home. One of the first books that was published, was the translation of the New Testament by Tyndal, printed at Antwerp 1527. The next was the Supplication of the Beggars, by Simon Frith of Gray's-Inn, 1529. It was levelled against the begging friars, and complains that the common poor were ready to starve, because the alms of the people were intercepted by great companies of lusty idle friars who were able to work, and were a burden to the commonwealth. More and Fisher answered the book, endeavouring to move the people's passions, by representing the supplications of the souls in purgatory which were relieved by the masses of these friars. But the strength of their arguments lay in the sword of the magistrate, which was now in their hands; for while these gentlemen were in power the clergy made sad havoc among those people who were seeking after Christian knowledge: some were cited into the bishops' courts for teaching their children the Lord's prayer in English; some for reading forbidden books; some for speaking against the vices of the clergy; some for not coming to confession and the sacrament; and some for not observing the church-fasts; most of whom, through fear of death, did penance and were dismissed; but several of the

clergy refusing to abjure, or after abjuration falling into a relapse, suffered death. Among these were the Rev. Mr. Hitton, curate of Maidstone, burnt in Smithfield 1530; the Rev. Mr. Bilney, burnt at Norwich 1531; Mr. Byfield, a monk of St. Edmondsbury; James Bainham, knt. of the Temple; besides two men and a woman at York. In the year 1533, Mr. John Frith,* an excellent scholar of the university of Cambridge, was burnt in Smithfield, with one Hewet, a poor apprentice, for denying the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament; but upon the rupture between the king and the pope, and the repeal of the act of king Henry IV. against heretics, the wings of the clergy were clipped, and a stop put to their cruelties for a time.

None were more averse to the Reformation than the monks and friars: these spoke openly against the king's proceedings, exciting the people to rebellion, and endeavouring to embroil his affairs with foreign princes; the king therefore resolved to humble them, and for this purpose appointed a general visitation of the monasteries, the management of which was committed to the lord Cromwell, with the title of visitor-general, who appointed other commissioners under him, and gave them injunctions and articles of inquiry.—Upon this several abbots and priors, to prevent a scrutiny into their conduct, voluntarily surrendered their houses into the king's hands; others, upon examination, appeared guilty of the greatest frauds and impositions on the simplicity of the people: many of their pretended relics were exposed and destroyed, as the Virgin Mary's milk, shewed in eight places; the coals that roasted St. Lawrence; and an angel with one wing that brought over the head of the spear that pierced our Saviour's side; the rood of grace, which was so contrived, that the eyes and lips might move upon occasion; with many others. The images of a great many pretended saints were taken down and burnt, and all the rich offerings made at their shrines were seized for the crown, which brought an immense treasure into the Exchequer.

Upon the report of the visitors the parliament consented to the suppressing of the lesser monasteries under 200*l.* a

* Mr. Frith wrote a tract, published with his other works, London, 1573, entitled "A Declaration of Baptism."

Sir James Bainham seems, from his examination before the bishop of London, Dec. 15, 1531, to have been an opposer of infant baptism.

Crosby's Hist. of the English Baptists, vol. 1, p. 31.

year value, and gave them to the king to the number of three hundred and seventy-six. Their rents amounted to about 32,000*l.* per annum: their plate, jewels, and furniture, to about 100,000*l.** The churches and cloisters were for the most part pulled down, and the lead, and bells, and other materials, sold. A new court, called the court of Augmentations of the King's Revenue,† was erected, to receive the rents, and to dispose of the lands, and bring the profits into the Exchequer. Every religious person that was turned out of his cell had 45*s.* given him in money, of which number there were about ten thousand; and every governor had a pension. But to ease the government of this charge, the monks and friars were put into benefices as fast as they became vacant; by which means it came to pass, that the body of the inferior clergy were disguised Papists, and enemies to the Reformation.

The lesser religious houses being dissolved, the rest followed in a few years: for in the years 1537 and 1539 the greater abbeys and monasteries were broken up, or surrendered to the crown, to prevent an inquiry into their lives and manners. This raised a great clamour among the people, the monks and friars going up and down the country like beggars, clamouring at the injustice of the suppression. The king, to quiet them, gave back fifteen abbeys and sixteen nunneries for perpetual alms; but several of the abbots being convicted of plots and conspiracies against his government, his majesty resumed his grants after two years; and obtained an act of parliament, whereby he was empowered to erect sundry new cathedral churches and bishopricks, and to endow them out of the profits of the religious houses. The king intended, says bishop Burnet, to convert 18, 000*l.* a year into a revenue for eighteen bishopricks and cathedrals; but of them he only erected six, viz. the bishopricks of Westminster, Chester, Peterborough, Oxford, Gloucester, and Bristol. This was the chief of what his majesty did for religion; which was but a small return of the immense sums that fell into his hands: for the clear rents of all the suppressed houses were cast up at 131,607*l.* 6*s.* 4*d.* per annum, as they were then rated; but were at least ten times as much in value. Most of the abbey-lands were given away among the courtiers, or sold at easy rates to the gentry, to engage

* Burnet's Hist. Ref. vol. 1. p. 223.

† 27 Hen. VIII. cap. 27, 28.

them by interest against the resumption of them to the church. In the year 1545, the parliament gave the king the chantries, colleges, free chapels, hospitals, fraternities, and guilds, with their manors and estates. Seventy manors and parks were alienated from the archbishoprick of York, and twelve from Canterbury, and confirmed to the crown. How easily might this king, with his immense revenues, have put an end to the being of parliaments!

The translation of the New Testament by Tyndal, already mentioned, had a wonderful spread among the people; though the bishops condemned it, and proceeded with the utmost severity against those that read it. They complained of it to the king; upon which his majesty called it in by proclamation in the month of June, 1530, and promised that a more correct translation should be published: but it was impossible to stop the curiosity of the people so long; for though the bishops bought up and burnt all they could meet with, the Testament was reprinted abroad, and sent over to merchants at London, who dispersed the copies privately among their acquaintance and friends.

At length it was moved in convocation, that the whole Bible should be translated into English, and set up in churches; but most of the old clergy were against it. They said, this would lay the foundation of innumerable heresies, as it had done in Germany; and that the people were not proper judges of the sense of Scripture: to which it was replied, that the Scriptures were written at first in the vulgar tongue; that our Saviour commanded his hearers to search the Scriptures; and that it was necessary people should do so now, that they might be satisfied that the alterations the king had made in religion were not contrary to the word of God.—These arguments prevailed with the majority to consent that a petition should be presented to the king, that his majesty would please to give order about it.

But the old bishops were too much disinclined to move in it. The reformers therefore were forced to have recourse to Mr. Tyndal's Bible, which had been printed at Hamburgh 1532, and reprinted three or four years after by Grafton and Whitchurch. The translators were Tyndal, assisted by Miles Coverdale, and Mr. John Rogers the protomartyr: the Apocrypha was done by Rogers, and some marginal notes were inserted to the whole, which gave offence, and

occasioned that Bible to be prohibited. But archbishop Cranmer, having now reviewed and corrected it, left out the prologue and notes, and added a preface of his own; and because Tyndal was now put to death for a heretic, his name was laid aside, and it was called Thomas Matthew's Bible, and by some Cranmer's Bible; though it was no more than Tyndal's translation corrected.* This Bible was allowed by authority, and eagerly read by all sorts of people.

The fall of queen Anne Bullen, mother of queen Elizabeth, was a great prejudice to the Reformation. She was a virtuous and pious lady, but airy and indiscreet in her behaviour: the Popish party hated her for her religion; and having awakened the king's jealousy, put him upon a nice observance of her carriage, by which she quickly fell under his majesty's displeasure, who ordered her to be sent to the Tower May 1. On the 15th of the same month she was tried by her peers for incontinence, for a precontract of marriage, and for conspiring the king's death; and though there was little or no evidence, the lords found her guilty for fear of offending the king; and four days after she was beheaded within the Tower, protesting her innocence to the last.—Soon after her execution the king called a parliament, to set aside the succession of the lady Elizabeth her daughter, which was done, and the king was empowered to nominate his successor by his last will and testament; so that both his majesty's daughters were now declared illegitimate: but the king having power to settle the succession as he pleased, in case of failure of male heirs, they were still in hopes, and quietly submitted to their father's pleasure.

Complaint being sent to court of the diversity of doctrines delivered in pulpits, the king sent a circular letter to all the bishops, July 12 [1536], forbidding all preaching till Michaelmas; by which time certain articles of religion, most catholic, should be set forth. The king himself framed the articles, and sent them into convocation, where they were agreed to by both houses. An abstract of them will shew the state of the Reformation at this time.

1. "All preachers were to instruct the people to believe the whole Bible, and the three creeds, viz. the Apostles', the Nicene, and Athanasian, and to interpret all things according to them.

* Strype's Life of Cranmer, p. 59. 82.

2. "That baptism was a sacrament instituted by Christ; that it was necessary to salvation; that infants were to be baptized for the pardon of original sin; and that the opinions of the Anabaptists and Pelagians were detestable heresies: [And that those of ripe age, who desired baptism, must join with it repentance and contrition for their sins, with a firm belief of the articles of the faith.]

3. "That penance, that is, contrition, confession, and amendment of life, with works of charity, was necessary to salvation; to which must be added, faith in the mercy of God, that he will justify and pardon us, not for the worthiness of any merit or work done by us, but for the only merits of the blood and passion of Jesus Christ; nevertheless, that confession to a priest was necessary if it might be had; and that the absolution of a priest was the same as if it were spoken by God himself, according to our Saviour's words. That auricular confession was of use for the comfort of men's consciences. And though we are justified only by the satisfaction of Christ, yet the people were to be instructed in the necessity of good works.

4. "That in the sacrament of the altar, under the form of bread and wine, there was, truly and substantially, the same body of Christ that was born of the Virgin.

5. "That justification signified the remission of sins, and a perfect renovation of nature in Christ.

6. "Concerning images—that the use of them was warranted in Scripture; that they served to stir up devotion; and that it was meet they should stand in churches: but the people were to be taught, that in kneeling or worshipping before them, they were not to do it to the image, but to God.

7. "Concerning honouring of saints, they were to be instructed not to expect those favours from them which are to be obtained only from God, but they were to honour them, to praise God for them, and to imitate their virtues.

8. "——For praying to saints—That it was good to pray to them to pray for us and with us.

9. "Of ceremonies. The people were to be taught, that they were good and lawful, having mystical significations in them; such were the vestments in the worship of God, sprinkling holy water to put us in mind of our baptism and the blood of Christ; giving holy bread, in sign of our union

to Christ ; bearing candles on Candlemas-day, in remembrance of Christ the spiritual light ; giving ashes on Ash-Wednesday, to put us in mind of penance and our mortality ; bearing palms on Palm-Sunday, to shew our desire to receive Christ into our hearts as he entered into Jerusalem ; creeping to the cross on Good-Friday, and kissing it, in memory of his death ; with the setting up of the sepulchre on that day, the hallowing the font, and other exorcisms and benedictions.

Lastly, “As to purgatory, they were to declare it good and charitable to pray for souls departed ; but since the place they were in, and the pains they suffered, were uncertain by Scripture, they ought to remit them to God’s mercy. Therefore, all abuses of this doctrine were to be put away, and the people disengaged from believing that the pope’s pardons or masses said in certain places, or before certain images, could deliver souls out of purgatory.”

These articles were signed by the archbishop of Canterbury, seventeen bishops, forty abbots and priors, and fifty archdeacons and proctors of the lower house of convocation : they were published by the king’s authority, with a preface in his name requiring all his subjects to accept them, which would encourage him to take farther pains for the honour of God, and the welfare of his people. One sees here the dawn of the Reformation ; the Scriptures and the ancient creeds are made the standards of faith without the tradition of the church or decrees of the pope ; the doctrine of justification by faith is well stated ; four of the seven sacraments are passed over, and purgatory is left doubtful. But transubstantiation, auricular confession, the worshipping of images and saints, still remained.

The court of Rome were not idle spectators of these proceedings ; they threatened the king, and spirited up the clergy to rebellion ; and when all hopes of accommodation were at an end, the pope pronounced sentence of excommunication against the whole kingdom, depriving his majesty of his crown and dignity, forbidding his subjects to obey him, and all foreign princes to correspond with him ; all his leagues with them were dissolved, and his own clergy were commanded to depart the kingdom, and his nobility to rise in arms against him. The king, laying hold of this opportunity, called a parliament, and obtained an act, requiring all

his subjects, under the pains of treason, to swear that the king was supreme head of the church of England; and to strike terror into the Popish party, three priors and a monk of the Carthusian order, and three monks of the Charterhouse, were executed as traitors, for refusing the oath, and for saying, that the king was not supreme head under Christ of the church of England; but the two greatest sacrifices were, John Fisher bishop of Rochester, and sir Thomas More late lord-chancellor of England, who were both beheaded last year within a fortnight of each other. This quieted the people for a time, but soon after there was an insurrection in Lincolnshire of twenty thousand men, headed by a churchman and directed by a monk; but upon a proclamation of pardon they dispersed themselves: the same year there was another more formidable in the north, but after some time the rebels were defeated by the duke of Norfolk, and the heads of them executed, among whom were divers abbots and priests. These commotions incensed the king against the religious houses, as nurseries of sedition, and made him resolve to suppress them all.

In the meantime his majesty went on boldly against the church of Rome, and published certain injunctions by his own authority, to regulate the behaviour of the clergy.—This was the first act of pure supremacy done by the king; for in all that went before he had the concurrence of the convocation. The injunctions were to this purpose.

1. "That the clergy should twice every quarter publish to the people, that the bishop of Rome's usurped power had no foundation in Scripture, but that the king's supremacy was according to the laws of God.

2, 3. "They were to publish the late articles of faith set forth by the king; and likewise the king's proclamation for the abrogation of certain holidays in harvest-time.

4. "They were to dissuade the people from making pilgrimages to saints, and to exhort them to stay at home and mind their families, and keep God's commandments.

5. "They were to exhort them to teach their children the Lord's prayer, the Creed, and ten commandments, in English.*

* "And every incumbent was to explain these, one article a day, until the people were instructed in them." Maddox's Vindic. p. 299.—Ep.

6. "They were to take care that the sacraments were reverently administered in their parishes.

7. "That the clergy do not frequent taverns and ale-houses, nor sit long at games, but give themselves to the study of the Scriptures and a good life.

8. "Every beneficed person of 20*l.* a year that did not reside, was to pay the fortieth part of his benefice to the poor.

9. "Every incumbent of 100*l.* a year to maintain one scholar at the university; and so many hundreds a year so many scholars.

10. "The fifth part of the profits of livings to be given to the repair of the vicarage-house if it be in decay."

Thus the very same opinions, for which the followers of Wickliffe and Luther had been burnt a few years before, were enjoined by the king's authority.

This year a very remarkable book was printed by Batchelor, the king's printer, *cum privilegio*, called The Institution of a Christian Man. It was called the Bishop's Book, because it was composed by sundry bishops, as Cranmer archbishop of Canterbury, Stokely of London, Gardiner of Winchester, Sampson of Chichester, Repps of Norwich, Goodrick of Ely, Latimer of Worcester, Shaxton of Salisbury, Fox of Hereford, Barlow of St. David's, and some other divines. It is divided into several chapters, and contains an explanation of the Lord's prayer, the Creed, the seven sacraments, the ten commandments, the Ave Maria, justification, and purgatory. "The book maintains the local descent of Christ into hell, and that all articles of faith are to be interpreted according to Scripture, and the four first general councils. It defends the seven sacraments, and under the sacrament of the altar affirms, that the body of Christ that suffered on the cross is substantially present under the form of bread and wine. It maintains but two orders of the clergy, and avers, that no one bishop has authority over another according to the word of God. The invocation of saints is restrained to intercession, forasmuch as they have it not in their own power to bestow any blessings upon us. It maintains, that no church should be consecrated to any being but God. It gives liberty to work on saints' days, especially in harvest-time. It maintains the doctrine of passive obedience. In the article of

justification it says, we are justified only by the merits and satisfaction of Christ, and that no good works on our part can procure the divine favour, or prevail for our justification.”*

This book was recommended and subscribed by the two archbishops, nineteen bishops, and by the lower house of convocation, among whom were Gardiner, Bonner, and others, who put their brethren to death for these doctrines in the reign of queen Mary; but the reason of their present compliance might be, because all their hopes from the succession of the princess Mary were now defeated, queen Jane being brought to bed of a son October 12th, 1538, who was baptized Edward, and succeeded his father.

The translation of the Bible already mentioned, was this year printed and published. Cromwell procured the king's warrant for all his majesty's subjects to read it without control; and, by his injunctions, commanded one to be set up publicly in all the churches in England, that the people might read it. His majesty farther enjoined the clergy, to preach the necessity of faith and repentance, and against trusting in pilgrimages, and other men's works; to order such images as had been abused to superstition to be taken down; and to tell the people, that praying to them was no less than idolatry: but still transubstantiation, the seven sacraments, the communion in one kind only, purgatory, auricular confession, praying for the dead, the celibacy of the clergy, sprinkling of holy water, invocation of saints, some images in churches, with most of the superstitious rites and ceremonies of the Popish church, were retained.

Here his majesty made a stand; for after this the Reformation fluctuated, and upon the whole went rather backwards than forwards; which was owing to several causes, as, (1.) To the unhappy death of the queen in childbed, who had possession of the king's heart, and was a promoter of the Reformation. (2.) To the king's disagreement with the Protestant princes of Germany, who would not put him at the head of their league, because he would not abandon the doctrine of transubstantiation, and permit the communion in both kinds. (3.) To the king's displeasure against the archbishop, and the other bishops of the new learning, because he could not prevail with them to give consent in par-

* Strype's Mem. of Cranmer, p. 51.

liament, that the king should appropriate all the suppressed monasteries to his own use. (4.) To his majesty's unhappy marriage with the lady Anne of Cleves, a Protestant; which was promoted by the reformers, and proved the ruin of the lord Cromwell, who was at that time the bulwark of the Reformation. (5.) To the artifice and abject submission of Gardiner, Bonner, and other Popish bishops, who by flattering the king's imperious temper, and complying with his dictates, prejudiced him against the reformed. And, lastly, To his majesty's growing infirmities, which made him so peevish and positive, that it was dangerous to advise to any thing that was not known to be agreeable to his sovereign will and pleasure.

The king began to discover his zeal against the Sacramentaries [and Anabaptists*] (as those were called who denied the corporal presence of Christ in the eucharist), by prohibiting the importing of all foreign books, or printing any portions of Scripture till they had been examined by himself and council, or by the bishop of the diocese; by punishing all that denied the old rites, and by forbidding all to argue against the real presence of Christ in the sacrament on pain of death. For breaking this last order, he condemned to the flames this very year that faithful witness to the truth, John Lambert, who had been minister of the English congregation at Antwerp, and afterward taught school in London; but hearing Dr. Taylor preach concerning the real presence, he offered him a paper of reasons against it: Taylor carried the paper to Cranmer, who was then a Lutheran, and endeavoured to make him retract; but Lambert unhappily appealed to the king, who after a kind of mock trial in Westminster-hall, in presence of the bishops, nobility, and judges, passed sentence of death upon him, condemning him to be burnt as an incorrigible heretic. Cranmer was appointed to dispute against him, and Cromwell to read the sentence. He was soon after executed in Smithfield in a

* In the articles of religion set forth in 1536, the sect of Anabaptists is mentioned and condemned. Fourteen Hollanders, accused of holding their opinions, were put to death in 1535, and ten saved themselves by recantation. In 1428, there were in the diocese of Norwich one hundred and twenty, who held that infants were sufficiently baptized, if their parents were baptized before them; that Christian people be sufficiently baptized in the blood of Christ, and need no water; and that the sacrament of baptism used in the church by water is but a light matter, and of small effect. Three of these persons were burnt alive. Long before this it was a charge laid against the Lollards that they held these opinions, and would not baptize their new-born children. See Fox, as quoted by Crosby, vol. 1. p. 24. 40, 41.—ED.

most barbarous manner; his last words in the flames were, **None but Christ, None but Christ!**

The parliament that met next spring disserved the Reformation, and brought religion back to the standard in which it continued to the king's death, by the act [31 Hen. VIII. cap. 14.] commonly known by the name of the bloody statute, or the statute of the six articles; it was intituled, **An Act for abolishing Diversity of Opinions in certain Articles concerning Christian Religion.** The six articles were these:*

1. "That in the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration, there remains no substance of bread and wine, but under these forms the natural body and blood of Christ is present.

2. "That communion in both kinds is not necessary to salvation to all persons by the law of God, but that both the flesh and blood of Christ are together in each of the kinds.

3. "That priests may not marry by the law of God.

4. "That vows of chastity ought to be observed by the law of God.

5. "That private masses ought to be continued, which as it is agreeable to God's law, so men receive great benefit by them.

6. "That auricular confession is expedient and necessary, and ought to be retained in the church."

It was farther enacted, that if any did speak, preach, or write, against the first article, they should be judged heretics, and be burnt without any abjuration, and forfeit their real and personal estate to the king. Those who preached, or obstinately disputed, against the other articles, were to suffer death as felons, without benefit of clergy; and those who, either in word or writing, declared against them, were to be prisoners during the king's pleasure, and to forfeit their goods and chattels for the first offence, and for the second to suffer death. All ecclesiastical incumbents were to read this act in their churches once a quarter.

As soon as the six articles took place, Shaxton bishop of Salisbury, and Latimer of Worcester, resigned their bishopricks, and being presented for speaking against the act, they were imprisoned, Latimer continued a prisoner to the king's death, but Shaxton, being threatened with the fire, turned

* Cranmer alone had the courage to oppose the passing these articles.—W.

apostate, and proved a cruel persecutor of the Protestants in queen Mary's reign. Commissions were issued out to the archbishops, bishops, and their commissaries, to hold a sessions quarterly, or oftener, and to proceed upon presentments by a jury according to law; which they did most severely, insomuch that in a very little time five hundred persons were put in prison, and involved in the guilt of the statute; but Cranmer and Cromwell obtained their pardon, which mortified the Popish clergy to such a degree, that they proceeded no farther till Cromwell fell.

Another very remarkable act of parliament, passed this session, was, concerning obedience to the king's proclamations. It enacts, that the king, with advice of his council, may set forth proclamations with pains and penalties, which shall be obeyed as fully as an act of parliament, provided they be not contrary to the laws and customs in being, and do not extend so far, as that the subject should suffer in estate, liberty, or person. An act of attainder was also passed against sixteen persons, some for denying the supremacy, and others without any particular crime mentioned; none of them were brought to a trial, nor is there any mention in the records of any witnesses examined.* There never had been an example of such arbitrary proceedings before in England; yet this precedent was followed by several others in the course of this reign. By another statute it was enacted, that the counsellors of the king's successor, if he were under age, might set forth proclamations in his name, which were to be obeyed in the same manner with those set forth by the king himself. I mention this, because upon this act was founded the validity of all the changes of religion in the minority of Edward VI.†

Next year [1540] happened the fall of lord Cromwell, one of the great pillars of the Reformation. He had been lately constituted the king's vicegerent in ecclesiastical affairs, and made a speech in parliament April 12th, under that character. On the 14th of April the king created him earl of Essex, and knight of the garter; but within two

* Burnet's Hist. Ref. vol. 1. p. 263.

† In this year sixteen men, and fifteen women, were banished for opposing infant baptism: they went to Delft, in Holland, and were there prosecuted and put to death, as Anabaptists; the men being beheaded, and the women drowned. Among other injunctions issued out in 1539, was one against those who embraced the opinions, or possessed books containing the opinions, of Sacramentarians and Anabaptists. Crosby, b. 1. p. 42.—ED.

months he was arrested at the council-table for high treason, and sent to the Tower, and on the 28th of July was beheaded by virtue of a bill of attainder, without being brought to a trial, or once allowed to speak for himself. He was accused of executing certain orders and directions, for which he had very probably the king's warrant, and therefore was not admitted to make answer. But the true cause of his fall* was the share he had in the king's marriage with the lady Anne of Cleves, whom his majesty took an aversion to as soon as he saw her, and was therefore determined to shew his resentments against the promoters of it; but his majesty soon after lamented the loss of his honest and faithful servant when it was too late.

Two days after the death of Cromwell there was a very odd execution of Protestants and Papists at the same time and place. The Protestants were, Dr. Barnes, Mr. Gerrard, and Mr. Jerome, all clergymen and Lutherans; they were sent to the Tower for offensive sermons preached at the Spittle in the Easter week, and were attainted of heresy by the parliament without being brought to a hearing. Four Papists, viz. Gregory Buttolph, Adam Damplin, Edmund Brindholme, and Clement Philpot, were by the same act attainted for denying the king's supremacy, and adhering to the bishop of Rome. The Protestants were burnt, and the Papists hanged: the former cleared themselves of heresy by re-

* Dr. Maddox remarks on this statement of the cause of Cromwell's fall, that it is expressly contradicted by bishop Burnet, who, speaking of the king's creating him earl of Essex, upon his marriage with Anne of Cleves, adds, "This shews that the true causes of Cromwell's fall *must* be founded in some *other thing* than his making up the king's marriage, who had never thus raised his title if he had intended so soon to pull him down." Hist. Ref. vol. 1. p. 275.

In reply to this, Mr. Neal says, "Let the reader judge: his (i. e. bishop Burnet's) words are these; 'An unfortunate marriage, to which he advised the king, not proving acceptable, and he being unwilling to destroy what himself had brought about, was the occasion of his disgrace and destruction.' Vol. 3. p. 172. If his lordship has contradicted this in any other place (which I apprehend he has not), he must answer for it himself."

It may be observed, that these two passages stand in a very voluminous work, at a great distance from one another, so that the apparent inconsistency might escape the bishop's notice; while his remark in the first can have little force, when applied to the conduct of a prince so capricious and fluctuating in his attachments as was Henry VIII. and who soon grew disgusted with his queen. It is with no propriety that Mr. Neal's accuracy and fidelity are, in this instance, impeached: it justifies his representation, that nearly the same is given by Fuller in his Church History, b. 5. p. 231.—"Match-makers (says he) betwixt private persons seldom find great love for their pains; betwixt princes, often fall into danger, as here it proved in the lord Cromwell, the grand contriver of the king's marriage with Anne of Cleves."

The cause of Cromwell's disgrace is more fully and judiciously investigated by Dr. Warner, in his Ecclesiastical History, vol. 2. p. 197, 198.—Ed.

hearsing the articles of their faith at the stake, and died with great devotion and piety; and the latter, though grieved to be drawn in the same hurdle with them they accounted heretics, declared their hearty forgiveness of all their enemies.

About this time [1543] was published a very remarkable treatise, called *A Necessary Erudition for a Christian Man*. It was drawn up by a committee of bishops and divines, and was afterward read and approved by the lords spiritual and temporal, and the lower house of parliament. A great part of it was corrected by the king's own hand, and the whole was published by his order, with a preface in the name of king Henry VIII. dedicated to all his faithful subjects. It was called the *King's Book*, and was designed for a standard of Christian belief.* The reader therefore will judge by the abstract below, of the sentiments of our first Reformers in sundry points of doctrine and discipline :† which then con-

* Burnet's Hist. Ref. vol. 1. p. 286.

† It begins with a description of Faith, "of which (says the book) there are two acceptations. (1.) It is sometimes taken for 'a belief or persuasion wrought by God in men's hearts, whereby they assent and take for true all the words and sayings of God revealed in Scripture.' This faith, if it proceeds no farther, is but a dead faith. (2.) Faith is sometimes considered in conjunction with hope and charity, and so it signifies 'a sure confidence and hope to obtain whatsoever God has promised for Christ's sake, and is accompanied with a hearty love to God, and obedience to his commands.' This is a lively and effectual faith, and is the perfect faith of a Christian. It is by this faith that we are justified, as it is joined with hope and charity, and includes an obedience to the whole doctrine and religion of Christ. But whether there be any special particular knowledge, whereby men may be certain and assured that they are among the *predestinate*, which shall to the end persevere in their calling, we cannot find either in the Scriptures or doctors; the promises of God being conditional, so that though his promise stands, we may fail of the blessing for want of fulfilling our obligation."

After the chapter of Faith follows an excellent paraphrase on the twelve articles of the Creed, the Lord's prayer, the Ave Maria, or the salutation of the angel to the blessed Virgin, and the ten commandments; and here, the second commandment is shortened, the words 'for I the Lord thy God,' &c. being left out, and only those that go before set down. Images are said to be profitable to stir up the mind to emulation, though we may not give them godly honour; nevertheless censing and kneeling before them is allowed. Invocation of saints as intercessors is declared lawful; and the fourth commandment only ceremonial and obliging the Jews.

Then follows an article of Free-will, which is described, "A certain power of the will joined with reason, whereby a reasonable creature, without constraint in things of reason, discerneth and willeth good and evil; but it willeth not that that is acceptable to God unless it be holpen with grace, but that which is *ill* it willeth of itself.' Our wills were perfect in the state of innocence, but are much impaired by the fall of Adam; the high powers of reason and freedom of will being wounded and corrupted, and all men thereby brought into such blindness and infirmity that they cannot avoid sin except they are made free by special grace, that is, by the supernatural working of the Holy Ghost. The light of reason is unable to conceive the things that appertain to eternal life, though there remains a sufficient freedom of will in things pertaining to the present life. 'Without me (says the Scripture) you can do nothing;' therefore when men feel, that notwithstanding their diligence they are not able to do that which they desire, they ought with a steadfast faith and devotion to ask of him,

stituted the established doctrine of the church of England : for by the statute of 32 Hen. VIII. cap. 26. it is enacted,

who gave the beginning, that he would vouchsafe to perform it. But preachers are to take care so to moderate themselves, that they neither so preach the grace of God as to take away free-will, and make God the author of sin ; nor so extol free-will as to injure the grace of God."

In the article of Justification it asserts, " that all the posterity of Adam are born in original sin, and are hereby guilty of everlasting death and damnation, but that God sent his own Son, being naturally God, to take our nature and redeem us ; which he could not have done but by virtue of the union of his two natures." It then speaks of a two-fold justification: the first is upon our believing, and is obtained by repentance, and a lively faith in the passion and merits of our blessed Saviour, and joining therewith a full purpose to amend our lives for the future. The second, or final justification at death, or the last judgment, implies further, the exercise of all Christian graces, and a following the motions of the Spirit of God in doing good works, which will be considered and recompensed in the day of judgment. When the Scripture speaks of justification by faith without mentioning any other grace, it must not be understood of a naked faith, but of a lively operative faith, as before described, and refers to our *first* justification ; thus we are justified by free grace : and, whatever share good works may have in our *final* justification, they cannot derogate from the grace of God, because all our good works come of the free mercy and grace of God, and are done by his assistance ; so that all boasting is excluded."

This leads to the article of Good Works, " which are said to be absolutely necessary to salvation ; but they are not outward corporal works, but inward spiritual works ; as the love and fear of God, patience, humility, &c. Nor are they superstitious works of men's invention ; nor only moral works done by the power of reason, and the natural will of man, without faith in Christ ; which, though they are good in kind, do not merit everlasting life ; but such outward and inward good works as are done by faith in Christ, out of love to God, and in obedience to his commands ; and which cannot be performed by man's power without divine assistance. Now these are of two sorts : (1.) Such as are done by persons already justified ; and these, though imperfect, are accepted for Christ's sake, and are meritorious towards the attaining everlasting life. (2.) Other works are of an inferior sort, as fasting, alms-deeds, and other fruits of penance, which are of no avail without faith. But after all, justification and remission of sins is the free gift of the grace of God ; and it does not derogate from that grace to ascribe the dignity to good works above mentioned, because all our good works come of the grace of God."

The chapter of Prayer for Souls Departed, leaves the matter in suspense : " It is good and charitable to do it ; but because it is not known what condition departed souls are in, we ought only to recommend them to the mercy of God."

In the chapter of the Sacraments, " all the seven sacraments are maintained, and in particular the corporal presence of Christ in the eucharist."

In the sacrament of Orders the book maintains no real distinction between bishops and priests ; it says, that " St. Paul consecrated and ordered bishops by imposition of hands ; but that there is no certain rule prescribed in Scripture for the nomination, election, or presentation, of them ; this is left to the positive laws of every country. That the office of the said ministers is to preach the word, to minister the sacraments, to bind and loose, to excommunicate those that will not be reformed, and to pray for the universal church ; but that they may not execute their office without licence from the civil magistrate. The sacraments do not receive efficacy or strength from the ministration of the priest or bishop, but from God ; the said ministers being only officers, to administer with their hands those corporal things by which God gives grace, agreeable to St. Ambrose, who writes thus : ' The priest lays his hands upon us, but it is God that gives grace ; the priest lays on us his beseeching hands, but God blesseth us with his mighty hand.'"

Concerning the order of Deacons, the book says, " Their office in the primitive church was partly to minister meat and drink, and other necessities, to the poor, and partly to minister to the bishops and priests.—Then follows this remarkable passage : ' Of these two orders only, that is to say, priests and deacons, Scripture maketh express mention, and how they were conferred of the apostles by prayer and imposition of hands ; but the primitive church afterward appointed inferior degrees, as sub-

“that all decrees and ordinances which shall be made and ordained by the archbishops, bishops, and doctors, and shall be published with the king’s advice and confirmation, by his letters patent, in and upon the matters of Christian faith, and lawful rites and ceremonies, shall be in every point thereof believed, obeyed, and performed, to all intents and purposes, upon the pains therein comprised; provided nothing be ordained contrary to the laws of the realm.” How near the book above mentioned comes to the qualifications of this statute, is obvious to the reader. It is no less evident, that by the same act the king was in a manner invested with the infallibility of the pope, and had the consciences and faith of his people at his absolute disposal.

By this abstract of the *Erudition of a Christian Man*,* it appears farther, that our reformers built pretty much upon the plan of St. Austin, with relation to the doctrines of justification and grace. The sacraments and ceremonies are so

deacons, acolytes, exorcists, &c. but lest peradventure it might be thought by some, that such authorities, powers, and jurisdictions, as patriarchs, primates, archbishops, and metropolitans, now have, or heretofore at any time have had, justly and lawfully over other bishops, were given them by God in Holy Scripture, we think it expedient and necessary, that all men should be advertised and taught, that all such lawful power and authority of any one bishop over another, were and be given them by the consent, ordinances, and positive laws, of men only, and not by any ordinance of God in Holy Scripture; and all such power and authority which any bishop has used over another, which have not been given him by such consent and ordinance of men, are in very deed no lawful power, but plain usurpation and tyranny.’ ”

To the view which Mr. Neal has given of the doctrinal sentiments, contained in this piece, which was also called the bishop’s book, it is proper to add the idea it gave of the duty of subjects to their prince. Its commentary on the fifth commandment runs thus: “Subjects be bound not to withdraw their fealty, truth, love, and obedience, towards their prince, for any cause whatsoever it be.” In the exposition of the sixth commandment, the same principles of passive obedience and nonresistance are inculcated, and it is asserted, “that God hath assigned no judges over princes in this world, but will have the judgment of them reserved to himself.”—ED.

Though the *Institution of a Christian Man* is a book now disused, the same sentiments, connected with the idea of the *jure divino* of kings, still run through the homilies, the articles, the canons, and the rubric, of the church of England, and have been again and again sanctioned by the resolutions and orders of our convocations. Bishop Blake, on his death-bed, solemnly professed “that the religion of the church of England had taught him the doctrine of nonresistance, and passive obedience, and that he took it to be the distinguishing character of that church.”—*High-Church Politicks*, p. 75. 89, and the note in the last page.—ED.

It is not easy to say, what sincere or complete alliance there can be between the church and state, when the dogmas of the former are in such glaring repugnancy to the constitution of the latter; when the former educates slaves, the latter freemen; when the former sanctions the tyranny of kings, the latter is founded in the rights of the people. In this respect, surely, the church needs a reform.—ED.

* Dr. Warner observes, on this performance, that there were so many absurdities of the old religion still retained, so much metaphysical jargon about the merit of good works, about the essential parts and consequences of faith, about free-will and grace; that this book, instead of promoting the Reformation, visibly put it back. *Eccles. History*, vol. 2. p. 205.

contrived, as to be consistent with the six articles established by parliament. But with regard to discipline, Cranmer and his brethren were for being directed wholly by the civil magistrate ; which has since been distinguished by the name of Erastianism. Accordingly they took out commissions to hold their bishopricks during the king's pleasure, and to exercise their jurisdiction by his authority only.

But notwithstanding this reformation of doctrine, the old Popish forms of worship were continued till this year [1544], when a faint attempt was made to reform them. A form of procession was published in English, by the king's authority, entitled, *An Exhortation to Prayer, thought meet by his Majesty and his Clergy, to be read to the People ; also a Litany, with Suffrages to be said or sung in the Time of the Processions.* In the litany they invoke the blessed Virgin, the angels, archangels, and all holy orders of blessed spirits ; all holy patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors, virgins, and all the blessed company of heaven, to pray for them. The rest of the litany is in a manner the very same as now in use, only a few more collects were placed at the end, with some psalms, and a paraphrase on the Lord's prayer. The preface is an exhortation to the duty of prayer, and says, that it is convenient, and very acceptable to God, to use private prayer in our mother-tongue, that by understanding what we ask,* we may more earnestly and fervently desire the same. The hand of Cranmer was no doubt in this performance, but it was little regarded, though a mandate was sent to Bonner bishop of London to publish it.†

But Cranmer's power was now very much weakened ; he strove against the stream, and could accomplish nothing farther, except a small mitigation of the rigorous prosecution of the six articles : for by the thirty-fifth of Henry VIII. cap. 5. it is enacted, " that persons shall not be convicted upon this statute, but by the oaths of twelve men ; that the prosecution shall be within a year ; and that if any one preaches against the six articles, he shall be informed against within forty days." This rendered the prosecution more difficult ; and yet after all several were burnt at this time, for denying the doctrine of transubstantiation, as Mrs. Anne Askew, Mr. Belenian, Adams, Lascels, and others. The books of Tyn-

* Burnet's Hist. Ref. vol. 1. p. 331, and the Records, b. 3. No. 28.

† Burnet's Hist. Ref. vol. 3. p. 164.

dal, Frith, Joy, Barnes, and other Protestants, were ordered to be burnt; and the importation of all foreign books relating to religion was forbid, without special licence from the king.

Upon the whole, the Reformation went very much backward the three or four last years of the king's life, as appears by the statute of 35 Henry VIII. cap. 1. which leads the people back into the darkest parts of Popery. It says, "that recourse must be had to the Catholic and apostolic church for the decision of controversies; and therefore all books of the Old and New Testament in English, being of Tyndal's false translation, or comprising any matter of Christian religion, articles of faith, or Holy Scripture, contrary to the doctrine set forth by the king [in the six articles] 1540, or to be set forth by the king, shall be abolished. No person shall sing or rhyme contrary to the said doctrine. No person shall retain any English books or writings against the holy and blessed sacrament of the altar, or other books abolished by the king's proclamation. There shall be no annotations or preambles in Bibles or New Testaments in English. The Bible shall not be read in English in any church. No women, or artificers, apprentices, journeymen, serving-men, husbandmen, or labourers, shall read the New Testament in English. Nothing shall be taught or maintained contrary to the king's instructions. If any spiritual person shall be convicted of preaching or maintaining any thing contrary to the king's instructions already made, or hereafter to be made, he shall for the first offence recant; for the second bear a fagot, and for the third be burnt,

Here is Popery and spiritual slavery in its full extent. Indeed the pope is discharged of his jurisdiction and authority; but a like authority is vested in the king. His majesty's instructions are as binding as the pope's canons, and upon as severe penalties. He is absolute lord of the consciences of his subjects. No bishop or spiritual person may preach any doctrine but what he approves; nor do any act of government in the church but by his special commission. This seems to have been given his majesty by the act of supremacy, and is farther confirmed by one of the last statutes of his reign, [37 Hen. VIII. cap. 17.] which declares, that "archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, and other ecclesiastical persons, have no manner of jurisdiction ecclesiastical, but

by, under, and from, his royal majesty; and that his majesty is the only supreme head of the church of England and Ireland; to whom, by Holy Scripture, all authority and power is wholly given to hear and determine all manner of causes ecclesiastical, and to correct all manner of heresies, errors, vices, and sins, whatsoever; and to all such persons as his majesty shall appoint thereunto."

This was carrying the regal power to the utmost length. Here is no reserve of privilege for convocations, councils, or colleges of bishops; the king may ask their advice, or call them in to his aid and assistance, but his majesty has not only a negative voice upon their proceedings, but may himself, by his letters patent, publish injunctions in matters of religion, for correcting all errors in doctrine and worship.—His proclamations have the force of a law, and all his subjects are obliged to believe, obey, and profess, according to them, under the highest penalties.

Thus matters stood when this great and absolute monarch died of an ulcer in his leg, being so corpulent, that he was forced to be let up and down stairs with an engine. The humour in his leg made him so peevish, that scarce any body durst speak to him of the affairs of his kingdom or of another life. He signed his will Dec. 30, 1546, and died Jan. 28th following, in the thirty-eighth year of his reign, and the fifty-sixth of his age. He ought to be ranked (says bishop Burnet) among the ill princes, but not among the worst.

CHAP. II.

REIGN OF KING EDWARD VI.

THE sole right and authority of reforming the church of England were now vested in the crown; and by the act of succession, in the king's council, if he were under age. This was preferable to a foreign jurisdiction; but it can hardly be proved, that either the king or his council have a right to judge for the whole nation, and impose upon the people what religion they think best, without their consent. The reformation of the church of England was began and

carried on by the king, assisted by archbishop Cranmer and a few select divines. The clergy in convocation did not move in it but as they were directed and overawed by their superiors ; nor did they consent till they were modelled to the designs of the court.

Our learned historian bishop Burnet* endeavours to justify this conduct, by putting the following question, "What must be done when the major part of a church is, according to the conscience of the supreme civil magistrate, in an error, and the lesser part is in the right?" In answer to this question, his lordship observes, that "there is no promise in Scripture that the majority of pastors shall be in the right ; on the contrary it is certain, that truth, separate from interest, has few votaries. Now, as it is not reasonable that the smaller part should depart from their sentiments, because opposed by the majority, whose interest led them to oppose the Reformation, therefore they might take sanctuary in the authority of the prince and the law." But is there any promise in Scripture that the king or prince shall be always in the right ? or, is it reasonable that the majority should depart from their sentiments in religion, because the prince with the minority are of another mind ? If we ask, what authority Christian princes have to bind the consciences of their subjects, by penal laws, to worship God after their manner, his lordship answers, This was practised in the Jewish state. But it ought to be remembered, that the Jewish state was a theocracy ; that God himself was their king, and their chief magistrates only his vicegerents or deputies ; that the laws of Moses were the laws of God ; and the penalties annexed to them as much of divine appointment as the laws themselves. It is therefore absurd to make the special commission of the Jewish magistrates a model for the rights of Christian princes. But his lordship adds, "It is the first law in Justinian's code, made by the emperor Theodosius, that all should every where, under severe pains, follow that faith that was received by Damasius bishop of Rome, and Peter of Alexandria. And why might not the king and laws of England give the like authority to the archbishops of Canterbury and York?" I answer, Because Theodosius's law was an unreasonable usurpation upon the right of conscience. If the apostle Paul, who was

* Hist. Ref. vol. 2. in preface.

an inspired person, had not dominion over the faith of the churches, how came the Roman emperor, or other Christian princes, by such a jurisdiction, which has no foundation in the law of nature or in the New Testament?

His lordship goes on, "It is not to be imagined how any changes in religion can be made by sovereign princes, unless an authority be lodged with them of giving the sanction of a law to the sounder, though the lesser part of a church; for as princes and lawgivers are not tied to an implicit obedience to clergymen, but are left to the freedom of their own discerning, so they must have a power to choose what side to be of, where things are much inquired into." And why have not the clergy and the common people the same power? Why must they be tied to an implicit faith in their princes and lawgivers? Is there any promise in the word of God, that princes and lawgivers shall be infallible, and always judge right which is the sounder, though the lesser part of a church? "If (as his lordship adds) the major part of synods cannot be supposed to be in matters of faith so assisted from heaven, that the lesser part must necessarily acquiesce in their decrees; or that the civil powers must always make laws according to their votes, especially when interest does visibly turn the scale;" how can the prince or civil magistrate depend upon such assistance? Can we be sure that interest or prejudice will never turn the scale with him; or that he has a better acquaintance with the truths of the gospel than his clergy or people? It is highly reasonable that the prince should choose for himself what side he will be of, when things are much inquired into; but then let the clergy and people have the same liberty, and neither the major nor minor part impose upon the other, as long as they entertain no principles inconsistent with the safety of the government.—"When the Christian belief had not the support of law, every bishop taught his own flock the best he could, and gave his neighbours such an account of his faith, at or soon after his consecration, as satisfied them; and so (says his lordship) they maintained the unity of the church."—And why might it not be so still? Is not this better, upon all accounts, than to force people to profess what they cannot believe, or to propagate religion with the sword, as was too much the case with our reformers? If the penal laws had been taken away, and the points in controversy between Protestants and

Papists had been left to a free and open debate, while the civil magistrate had stood by, and only kept the peace, the Reformation would certainly have taken place in due time, and proceeded in a much more unexceptionable manner than it did.

To return to the history. King Edward VI. came to the crown at the age of nine years and four months; a prince, for learning and piety, for acquaintance with the world, and application to business, the very wonder of his age. His father, by his last will and testament, named sixteen persons executors of his will, and regents of the kingdom, till his son should be eighteen years of age: out of these the earl of Hertford, the king's uncle, was chosen protector of the king's realms, and governor of his person. Besides these, twelve were added as a privy council, to be assisting to them. Among the regents some were for the old religion, and others for the new; but it soon appeared that the reformers had the ascendant, the young king having been educated in their principles by his tutor Dr. Cox, and the new protector his uncle being on the same side. The majority of the bishops and inferior clergy were on the side of Popery, but the government was in the hands of the reformers, who began immediately to relax the rigours of the late reign.* The persecution upon the six articles was stopped; the prison-doors were set open; and several who had been forced to quit the kingdom for their religion returned home, as, Miles Coverdale, afterward bishop of Exeter; John Hooper, afterward bishop of Gloucester; John Rogers, the protomartyr; and many others, who were preferred to considerable benefices in the church. The reforming divines, being delivered from their too awful subjection to the late king, began to open against the abuses of Popery. Dr. Ridley and others preached vehemently against images in churches, and inflamed the people, so that in many places they outran the law, and pulled them down without authority. Some preached against the lawfulness of soul-masses and obits; though the

* The heads of the two parties were these: For the Reformation—King Edward, duke of Somerset, protector; Dr. Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury; Dr. Holgate, archbishop of York; sir W. Paget, secretary of state; lord viscount Lisle, lord-admiral; Dr. Holbeach, bishop of Lincoln; Dr. Goodrick, bishop of Ely; Dr. Latimer, bishop of Worcester; Dr. Ridley, elect of Rochester. For the old religion—Princess Mary; Wriothesley, earl of Southampton, lord-chancellor; Dr. Tostal, bishop of Durham; Dr. Gardiner, bishop of Winchester; Dr. Bonner, bishop of London.

The bishops were enjoined to see the articles put in execution, and to preach themselves four times a year, unless they had a reasonable excuse. They were to give orders to none but such as were able to preach and to recal their licences from others. The injunctions were to be observed under the pains of excommunication, sequestration, or deprivation.

In bidding of their prayers they were to remember the king their supreme head, the queen-dowager, the king's two sisters, the lord-protector, and the council; the nobility, the clergy, and the commons, of this realm. The custom of bidding prayer, which is still in use in the church, is a relic of Popery. Bishop Burnet* has preserved the form, as it was in use before the Reformation, which was this: After the preacher had named and opened his text, he called on the people to go to their prayers, telling them what they

1. "That all ecclesiastical persons observe the laws relating to the king's supremacy.

2. "That they preach once a quarter against pilgrimages and praying to images, and exhort to works of faith and charity.

3. "That images abused with pilgrimages and offerings be taken down; that no wax candles or tapers be burnt before them; but only two lights upon the high altar before the sacrament shall remain still, to signify that Christ is the light of the world.

The limitation in this article giving occasion to great heats among the people, some affirming their images had been so abused, and others not, the council sent orders to see them all taken down.

4. "That when there is no sermon, the Paternoster, the Creed, and ten commandments, shall be recited out of the pulpit to the parishioners.

5. "That within three months every church be provided with a Bible; and within twelve months, with Erasmus's Paraphrase on the New Testament.

9. "That they examine such who come to confession, whether they can recite the Paternoster, Creed, and ten commandments, in English, before they receive the sacrament of the altar, else they ought not to come to God's board.

21. "That in time of high mass the epistle and gospel shall be read in English; and that one chapter in the New Testament be read at matins, and one in the Old at even song.

23. "No processions shall be used about churches or churchyards; but immediately before high mass the litany shall be said or sung in English; and all ringing of bells (save one) utterly forborne.

24. "That the holy days at the first beginning godly instituted and ordained, be wholly given to God, in hearing the word of God read and taught; in private and public prayers, in acknowledging their offences to God, and promising amendment; in reconciling themselves to their neighbours, receiving the communion, visiting the sick, &c. Only it shall be lawful in time of harvest to labour upon holy and festival days, in order to save that thing which God hath sent; and that scrupulosity to abstain from working on those days does grievously offend God.

28. "That they take away all shrines, coverings of shrines, tables, candlesticks, trindills, or rolls of wax, pictures, paintings, and other monuments of feigned miracles, so that no memory of them remain in walls or windows; exhorting the people to do the like in their several houses."

The rest of the articles related to the advancement of learning, to the encouragement of preaching, and correcting some very gross abuses.

* Hist. Ref. vol. 2. p. 30. and Collection of Records, b. 1. No. 8.

not mind any branch of government so much as the church, being entirely at the disposal of her clergy, and forward to give a sanction to all their cruelties. She had deep resentments of her own ill-usage in her father's and brother's reigns, which easily induced her to take revenge, though she coloured it over with a zeal against heresy. She was perfectly blind in matters of religion, her conscience being absolutely directed by the pope and her confessor, who encouraged her in all the cruelties that were exercised against the Protestants, assuring her, that she was doing God and his church good service. There is but one instance of a pardon of any condemned for heresy during her whole reign. Her natural temper was melancholy; and her infirmities, together with the misfortunes of her government, made her so peevish, that her death was lamented by none but her Popish clergy. Her reign was in every respect calamitous to the nation, and "ought to be transmitted down to posterity in characters of blood."

CHAP. IV.

FROM THE BEGINNING OF QUEEN ELIZABETH'S REIGN,
TO THE SEPARATION OF THE PROTESTANT NONCON-
FORMISTS.

QUEEN Elizabeth's* accession to the crown gave new life to the Reformation: as soon as it was known beyond sea most of the exiles returned home; and those who had hid themselves in the houses of their friends began to appear; but the public religion continued for a time in the same posture the queen found it; the Popish priests kept their livings, and went on celebrating mass. None of the Protestant clergy who had been ejected in the last reign were restored; and orders were given against all innovations without public authority. Though the queen had complied with the changes in her sister's reign, it was well known she was a favourer of the Reformation; but her majesty proceeded with great caution, for fear of raising disturbances in her

* Strype's Ann. vol. 1. p. 251. 175.

the doctrine and discipline of the church as he pleased, provided his injunctions did not expressly contradict the statute law of the land.

Thus the reformation took place in sundry material points in the reigns of king Edward VI. and queen Elizabeth, before it had the sanction of parliament or convocation: and though queen Mary disallowed of the supremacy, she made use of it to restore the old religion, before the laws for abolishing it were repealed. Hence also they indulged the foreign Protestants with the liberty of their separate discipline, which they denied to their own countrymen.

The Puritans disowned all foreign authority and jurisdiction over the church as much as their brethren, but could not admit of that extensive power which the crown claimed by the supremacy, apprehending it unreasonable, that the religion of a whole nation should be at the disposal of a single lay-person; for let the apostle's rule, "that all things be done decently and in order," mean what it will, it was not directed to the prince or civil magistrate. However, they took the oath with the queen's explication in her injunctions, as only restoring her majesty to the ancient and natural rights of sovereign princes over their subjects.

2. It was admitted by the court-reformers, that the church of Rome was a true church, though corrupt in some points of doctrine and government; that all her ministrations were valid, and that the pope was a true bishop of Rome, though not of the universal church. It was thought necessary to maintain this, for the support of the character of our bishops, who could not otherwise derive their succession from the apostles.

But the Puritans affirmed the pope to be antichrist, the church of Rome to be no true church, and all her ministrations to be superstitious and idolatrous; they renounced her communion, and durst not risk the validity of their ordinations upon an uninterrupted line of succession from the apostles through their hands.

3. It was agreed by all, that the Holy Scriptures were a perfect rule of faith; but the bishops and court-reformers did not allow them a standard of discipline or church-government, but affirmed that our Saviour and his apostles left it to the discretion of the civil magistrate, in those places where Christianity should obtain, to accom-

Neal, Daniel

The history of the Puritans; or, Protestant nonconformists

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